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^{Lucius}
L. ANNAEUS SENECA₁₁

TREATISES

ON PROVIDENCE

ON TRANQUILLITY OF MIND

ON SHORTNESS OF LIFE

ON HAPPY LIFE

TOGETHER WITH

SELECT EPISTLES EPIGRAMMATA AN INTRODUCTION COPIOUS
NOTES AND SCRIPTURE PARALLELISMS

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REVISED EDITION

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W. P. 1

P R E F A C E.

THE present edition of the leading Moral Essays of Lucius Annaeus Seneca is designed as a text-book for use in the colleges and schools of the United States. The editors were first attracted towards its preparation by the fact that no edition of the Latin text of any one of the essays of the great Roman moralist had ever appeared in this country. Even in England the neglect has been marked; for, although several good translations were published during the 17th and 18th centuries, there has appeared in that country only one essay of Seneca in the original text for more than three centuries—viz., *Ad Gallionem de Remediis Fortuitorum* (Lond. 1547).^{*} This disregard, in the Anglo-Saxon countries, of the authentic works of the greatest Roman philosopher, is in decided contrast with the attention which they have received in the Continental countries, particularly in Germany, Italy, Holland, France, and Sweden. Graesse occupies not less than fourteen of his folio pages, in double columns, with the

^{*} Graesse, *Trésor de Livres Râres*, Vol. VI. pp. 346 ff.

mere titles of the editions of the text or translation of Seneca's real and alleged works, from the revival of classical learning, at the beginning of the 16th century, down to the present time. In Holland the most critical editorial care has been bestowed. Harwood says that the Elzevir edition, containing the notes of Lipsius, Gronovius, and others (Amsterdam, 1672), was printed from silver types.

The editors trust, therefore, that they are supplying a real want when they offer to the American public some of the best writings of the long unfamiliar Seneca. The text employed is that of Fickert (Leipzig, 1842-5), because, though not the most recent, it is by far the most critical, as it is derived from MS. authority. The readings of Haase's edition (Leipzig, 1851-3) and of other editions are referred to in the Notes as occasion has seemed to require. The orthography is conformed to that now generally agreed upon by scholars as the most correct.

The Introduction has been prepared as a special aid, not only for the better understanding of the personal relations of Seneca to his times, but for acquaintance with the ethical and philosophical thought of Rome at the time of the appearance of Christianity, and with the entire border-land of classic culture and Christian truth. The Notes are intended to supply every proper want of the student; at the same time, care has been taken not to overburden him with help, and thereby

interfere with or discourage individual study and research. It is the bane of true and thorough scholarship to make the learner a mere recipient, all the work having been done to his hand. Specially difficult or unusual forms of words are explained in the Notes. It is hoped that the constant references to the principal Latin Grammars and works on philology, history, and philosophy, will open up the way for the student to make himself master of the whole range of topics in Seneca's Moral Treatises.*

To the Moral Treatises have been added *Select Epistles* and *Epigrammata*. These are not annotated, since, if the student have read the preceding, he will find no difficulty in reading and enjoying these. As

* The liberty may be taken here to recall a singular circumstance connected with the publishing house from whose press the present volume is issued. When the two senior brothers, James and John Harper, commenced business, they confined themselves to printing books, and entered into a printing partnership in Dover Street, New York, in 1817. The first book which they printed was an English translation of Seneca's *Morals*, and their first triumph in business was in delivering to Mr. Evert Duyckinck, the publisher for whom they printed, 2000 copies of that work, on August 5th, 1817. In the following year, however, we find the energetic brothers entering into more important relations with the public; for they issued a work of like grave import with Seneca—Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding*—having the modest imprint of "J. & J. Harper." The little Seneca, every type of which was set by the founders of the Harper publishing house, is now a very rare volume. The house which thus began soon enlarged, and its rise and steady growth, like that of Perthes in Germany, and of the Chambers Brothers in Edinburgh, are simply an index of that growing interest in literature which, during the present century, has been a distinguishing feature in the development of all the aggressive and educating nations.

matter of curious interest, the Letters supposed to have passed between St. Paul and Seneca are subjoined.

In addition to the list of works referred to in the two following pages as having been consulted in the preparation of the present volume, ample use has been made of many editions and monographs on the subject in Continental libraries. The University libraries of Halle and Heidelberg, which are especially rich in the older editions of Seneca, were consulted when making the first preparations for the present edition of the chief essays of the Roman Moralist.

The editors, in this revised edition, have made important changes in the whole body of the annotations. The references are more numerous, and are made to correspond with the latest editions of Madvig, Zumpt, and other grammarians. The student is thus furnished with the newest aids in interpreting the text. Additional attention has been given to the grammatical and rhetorical figures, which are abundant in Seneca's writings, and which make him an attractive and profitable author to the student in language. The editors have received important suggestions from the best of all judges—the professors in our colleges and universities—whose kindly and valuable aid has grown out of their use of the volume in the class-room. It is hoped that the work, in its present form, will be found more worthy of the generous favor which it received at the hands of practical classical instructors and of students throughout the country.

April, 1884.

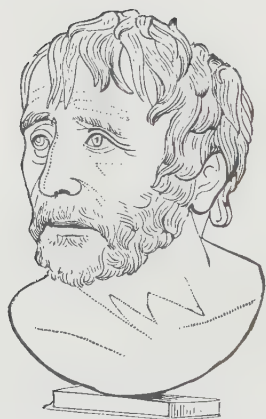
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Bust of Seneca. From the Museum at Naples.

INTRODUCTION.

LUCIUS ANNAEUS SENECA.

I. HIS RELATION TO ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

LUCIUS ANNAEUS SENECA was the last great representative of the Stoic philosophy. To the student of the philosophical and religious relations of paganism to Christianity, his writings—although they reflect in a measure the decadence of the post-Augustan period—are of more importance than those of any Greek or Roman author. For this there are two reasons: First, because his philosophy is the final and hopeless exhibition of the inability of the pagan mind, after its long but futile attempt, both to solve the mysteries of our being and to establish safe rules of conduct; and, second, Seneca's moral philosophy embodies the unconscious and mysterious approach of pagan wisdom to Christianity. It was, to the Roman world of thought, the Baptist preparing the way for a system mightier than any it had known. Here, too, we find some explanation of the fact that no man has ever received from his fellows, both of his own and later times, a more diverse judgment than Seneca. The Roman authors who describe him, taking Tacitus and Quintilian as examples, were generally unfavorable, though Juvenal dared to express a preference of him to Nero, the Roman emperor:

*“Libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam
Perditus, ut dubitet Senecam praeferre Neroni.”*

Early Christian writers, as Jerome, Lactantius, Augustine, and Tertullian, refer to him in terms of high commendation. Augustine speaks of his being conversant with the apostles, and Jerome says he deserves to be ranked among the saints. Lactantius, who elsewhere calls him a "divine pagan," thus gives him a rank above all the Stoics: "Seneca, who was the sharpest of all the Stoics—how great a veneration has he for the Almighty!" Indeed, so warm was the admiration of him by the primitive Church that the tests of historical criticism were forgotten, and he was regarded as practically a Christian, if not an intimate friend and an admirer of Paul himself, during the closing period of his life. The Roman Catholic Church has always held him in high veneration, and at the Council of Trent he is referred to as one of the Fathers of the Church. The French critics, as a rule, have been extremely favorable to him. Montaigne prefers him to Cicero, and, in his "Defense of Seneca and Plutarch," thus acknowledges his great obligation to the two: "The familiarity I have had with these two authors, and the assistance they have lent to my age and to my book, which is wholly compiled from what I have borrowed from them, oblige me to stand up for their honor." Diderot reverses his previously unfavorable judgment, and passes a high eulogy upon him. Rollin, often called the French Quintilian, commends the variety of his attainments, the depth and exactness of his philosophy, the wealth of his imagination, and the general purity of his style. The most recent criticism, such as that of Zeller in Germany, and of Martha and Aubertin in France, partakes more of the judicial spirit, and praises and blames according to the requirements of justice.*

* Cf. *Westminster Review*, 1867, pp. 43, 44.

II. PERSONAL HISTORY.

Marcus Aurelius Seneca, the father of Lucius Annaeus, was a native of Spain, and belonged to the strong and rich Roman colony of Corduba (Cordova), which was planted on the banks of the Baetis (the modern Guadalquivir) by Marcus Marcellus when praetor in Spain. It was afterwards elevated to the dignity of Colonia Patricia, by which it had the privilege of sending senators to Rome. The family were of the equestrian order, and possessed considerable wealth. Helvia, the wife of Marcus Aurelius Seneca, was a woman of many endowments of mind, and is frequently alluded to in the writings of her son. Lucius Annaeus was born at Corduba about B.C. 7. He had two brothers, the older being Marcus Annaeus Novatus (afterward changed by adoption to Junius Gallio), and the younger, Lucius Annaeus Mela, who became the father of the celebrated poet Lucan. Martial thus speaks of this triple character of the family: "*Et docti Senecae tres memoranda domus.*" The family removed to Rome when Lucius Annaeus was about two years of age. His youth was passed during the reign of Tiberius, and he enjoyed all the literary and social advantages which the station, wealth, and personal care of his father, himself an orator of great culture, could afford. He made a visit to Egypt, probably of considerable length, while his uncle was prefect of that province. To this fruitful episode in Seneca's life are due the frequent references in his writings to that country, particularly in his "Natural Questions;" and very likely he was the real author of Nero's organization of an expedition for the discovery of the sources of the Nile—the first attempt in history to solve the mysteries of that wonderful river. Livingstone, Barth, Baker,

Rohlf, Speke, and Schweinfurth have only followed in Roman footsteps.

The studies of Seneca were first in the department of eloquence and the affiliated sciences. But he exhibited gradually a taste for philosophy, from which the persuasions of his own wife were not strong enough to alienate him. His father, likewise, was loath to see his talented son devote himself to a class of studies then in decline, and not promising either political or social advancement, and used his influence to have his son become an advocate. Seneca, however, seems to have had a large measure of liberty, for he enjoyed the instructions of the best Roman interpreters of the Greek philosophy, such as Papirius Fabianus, Attalus, Deme-trius, and Sotion. Of this last he was very early a disciple, as he says in one of his epistles: "*Modo apud Sotionem puer sedi.*" So great was the influence of the Pythagorean philosophy, as represented by Sotion, upon him, that he became an ardent believer in the transmigration of souls, and proved his faith for a time by becoming a vegetarian, as the eating of animal food could be hardly less than parricide to one of that belief. The first public labors of Seneca, however, were according to the wishes of his father, for we find him exercising the functions of the public advocate, acquiring a just celebrity for eloquence, and even producing his first literary fruit in this department. The same paternal influence is also perceptible in Seneca's becoming a candidate for the quaestorship or treasurership, in which he was successful. During his incumbency of this office he became an object of jealousy on the part of the Emperor Caligula, who grew angry with him on the sole ground that the young orator pleaded too ably one day before the Senate in his presence. That emperor was

only prevented from putting him to death by representations of one of his mistresses that it was hardly worth while, as Seneca was a hopeless consumptive, and would soon die at all events. Caligula was succeeded by his uncle, Claudius, and the latter was in power but a short time before his wife, the corrupt Valeria Messalina, who became jealous of the favor shown by her husband to his niece, the beautiful Julia, took her revenge by charging Seneca with an illicit intrigue with the latter. The result was that Seneca was banished to the island of Corsica, where he remained eight years.

This exile was a transitional period in Seneca's mind and life. He had been married, and had two children. His wife, whose name is unknown, was now dead. He married a second time, his wife being Paulina. One of his children, a boy, died twenty days before his father's exile to Corsica. The other, Novatilla, was committed by her father to the care of his mother, Helvia, with these words: "Fold her to your bosom; she has lost her mother; she seems to have lost her father. Care for her. Love her for me." Once in Corsica, Seneca betook himself closely to the study of his much-loved philosophy. This proved to be a productive period of his life. Of his lonely home he had nothing good to say. He satirized every thing about him, and thus complained that Corsica was poor in every thing—but exiles:

"Barbarous land which rugged rocks surround,
Whose horrent cliffs with idle wastes are crowned,
No autumn fruit, no tilth the summer yields,
Nor olives cheer the winter-silvered fields:
Nor joyous spring her tender foliage lends,
Nor genial herb the luckless soil befriends;
Nor bread, nor sacred fire, nor freshening wave;
Naught here—save exile, and the exile's grave!" (Epig. II.)

Polybius, now the favorite at court, lost his brother,

and Seneca addressed him from his lonely Corsica an epistle on "Consolation," in which he shrewdly combined the good advice of bearing patiently what we can not escape, with fulsome adulation of Claudius Caesar. But this flattering proved quite unnecessary, for either it was never reported to the emperor by Polybius, or, if that man had the temerity to do it, it had not the slightest effect upon his master to recall the philosopher from exile. Now came Messalina's day of retribution, for, having formed an illicit alliance with the young and handsome Caius Silius, she died a wretched fugitive, and Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, succeeded her as empress. This latter made use of her influence with the emperor for securing the return of Seneca from exile. It was a stroke of policy on her part to gain popular favor for herself and her son, Domitius (Nero), for Seneca was a great favorite in Rome, and no more adroit management could have been adopted by the empress for the accomplishment of her plans. The life of Seneca henceforth became intimately connected with Nero. He became praetor, and the tutor of young Nero. Tacitus, who is the chief authority for what we know of the life of both Nero and his preceptor, thus states the purposes of Agrippina: "Agrippina obtained for Seneca a revocation from exile, and with it the praetorship, favors which she supposed would be well pleasing to the public on account of his signal eloquence and accomplishments; besides her own private views, namely, the education of her own son, Domitius, under such a master, and the use they should make of his counsels, both to obtain the empire and to govern it." Agrippina secured the death of her husband by poison, and now the great plan of her life was successful—her son, Nero, became Roman emperor. Farrar says of her absorption in the interests of her son: "Whatever there

was of possible affection in the tigress nature of Agrippina was now absorbed in the person of her child. For that child, from its cradle to her own death by his means, she toiled and sinned. The fury of her own ambition, inextricably linked with the uncontrollable fierceness of her love for this only son, henceforth directed every action of her life. Destiny had made her the sister of one emperor, intrigue elevated her into the wife of another. Her own crimes made her the mother of a third.”*

Claudius was no sooner dead than Seneca, true to his temporizing character, made him the object of his keen satire, and at the same time bestowed fulsome eulogy on the young Nero. This ruler did, indeed, promise well until his seventeenth year, but soon afterwards he manifested a restiveness and recklessness that gave Seneca good ground for fearing that his imperial disciple might any moment become his oppressor. Agrippina prided herself on her influence over her son; but when she found that he had become weary of his wife, Octavia, and formed a secret alliance with the freed-woman Acte, her indignation became violent and public, for she was shrewd enough to see that this change in Nero was fatal to her own share in the empire. She directed her hostility particularly at Seneca and Burrhus, the joint tutors of Nero, who, according to Tacitus, did what they could to restrain the vices of the young emperor, and saw only evil in the general influence of his wicked mother.† The mother, out of revenge for her son’s throwing off her influence, threatened to bring forward Britannicus, the son of Claudius, as the real heir to the throne. Nero now needed to act promptly, and the result was, as there is every reason to believe, that the speedy death of Britan-

* Seekers after God, p. 113.

† *Annales*, xiii, 2, etc.

nicus was caused by Nero, who was then only in the first year of his wretched reign. Imputations have been cast by various writers—Merivale among the rest—upon both Burrhus and Seneca as probable accomplices; but there is no proof that such was the fact. This much is certain, however, that Seneca soon afterwards wrote his *Essay on Clemency*, dedicating it to his pupil, Nero, in which he extols that virtue as especially beautiful in rulers, and represents Nero as a remarkable illustration of it.

Agrippina became an object of just suspicion on the part of her son, Nero, and the question was only one of time which should succeed in ridding the world of the other. A report was brought to Nero one night that



Seneca, as tutor of Nero, caricatured as a butterfly driving a dragon.
From the Museum at Naples.

Agrippina was plotting for his overthrow by the substitution of Plautus on the throne. The charge was unjust, and Agrippina was successful in having her accusers condemned, and herself restored to the favor of her son. The calm lasted four years, the end of which marked the completion of Nero's golden age—"the famous Quinquennium"—during which Seneca and Burrhus had been the actual rulers, and the affairs of the government had been administered with an ability and success that command-

ed universal admiration. But now Nero broke loose from all restraint, the occasion being another charge that Agrippina was plotting against her son. Nero promptly resolved upon his mother's death, and his plan was worthy of his general inhumanity; for he arranged that a pretended public reconciliation between his mother and himself should take place at Baiae, but that the bolts of the vessel on which she should return to her retreat should be loosened, and his victim drowned. She escaped death by water, but shortly after fell by the blows of assassins. Anicetus was the first to strike her, and she replied: "Strike my womb, for it bore Nero." Her supreme passion for her son's ruling continued, however, to the last, and it is said that she uttered the words: "*Occidat dum imperet*"—Let him slay me if he only reign! Recently an attempt has been made to justify Nero against the charge of parricide; but the deliberate judgment of Tacitus, Josephus, Dion, and Suetonius is unequivocal in the admission of his guilt.

What part did Seneca play in these scenes of blood? On this subject the opinion of his contemporaries was divided. First, there were many who believed that he was cognizant of the attempt of Nero to drown his mother. The weight of testimony here is in his favor. Even Dion admits that "there was no proof of Seneca's complicity in the imputed crime of Nero." Second, it was alleged that Seneca was an abettor in the murder of Agrippina at the hands of Anicetus and his soldiers. This is not proved, and the probability is against it. There is no likelihood that he attempted to dissuade Nero from the crime, for he was pretty sure that "if the son did not kill the mother, the mother certainly would kill the son." Tacitus reports that Seneca not only charged Nero with the crime, but repudiated all share

of responsibility for himself. But no amount of charity can acquit Seneca of writing Nero's statement to the Roman Senate that Agrippina did fall by her own hand. This was not only false, but amounted to a direct connivance at the crime.

It was now Seneca's turn to become involved in hopeless difficulties. Nero having become weary of his wife, Octavia, determined to substitute Poppaea for her. It was this woman who, by "her tears, her blandishments, and even her sarcasms," was the real author of Nero's murder of his mother, for the great aspiration of her life was to become empress, and she knew that so long as Agrippina lived this hope could never be realized. In Nero's proposition to cast aside Octavia and take Poppaea as his wife, he was gently opposed by Seneca. The nobles, long jealous of the philosopher, now found it easy to alienate the emperor's mind from him. Seneca saw his danger, and offered to surrender his just wealth to his master, and withdrew from the city, pleading his delicate health and love of study. Nero gave no formal consent, but Seneca lived in comparative retirement. The enemies of Seneca reported to Nero that the philosopher was a participant in Piso's conspiracy. Seneca succeeded in disproving all share in the plot, but again begged permission to retire, for Nero's burning of the city and persecution of the Christians, and the great prevalence of social disorders and crimes, proved that the old teacher no longer had the slightest influence over him. Again his request was denied. The conspiracy of Piso now assumed threatening proportions, and charges were brought against Seneca with greater plausibility. Nero resolved on his death. The philosopher was found at his villa, Nomentanum, in the society of his beloved wife, Paulina. He heard his sentence with Stoic calmness, and begged

only the privilege of making some additions to his will. This was refused. For the particulars of his death we are indebted to Tacitus. The philosopher said to his friends that, since he was disabled from requiting their benefits, he bequeathed them that which alone was left him, yet something more glorious and amiable than all the rest—the pattern of his life. He begged them not to weep for him. He implored his wife to “moderate her sorrow, to beware of perpetuating such a dismal sorrow, but to bear the death of her husband by contemplating his life spent in a steady course of virtue, and to support his loss by all worthy consolations.” But Paulina would not be comforted, and attempted to put an end to her life. Seneca, seeing her deep devotion, gave his consent in these words: “I have laid before thee the delights and solaces of living; thou preferrest the renown of dying. I shall not envy thee the honor of the example. Let us equally share the fortitude of an end so brave; but greater will be the splendor of thy particular fall.” At the same moment the two had the veins of their arms opened. Seneca’s blood flowed very slowly, and then he ordered the veins of his legs to be opened. His sufferings becoming intense, he persuaded his wife to withdraw to an adjoining room, lest the courage of each might fail by witnessing the agony of the other. Nero ordered that Paulina’s death be prevented, and so her wounds were bound up. She lived but a few years, in feeble health, her greatest joy being the memory of her husband. But no clemency was visited upon Seneca. His death coming too slowly, he requested his friend and physician, Statius Annaeus, to administer poison to him. This was unnecessary, for it failed to act upon his thin body. He then had recourse to a hot bath, but this failing, he was removed to a vapor bath, or *sudatorium*,

where he expired amid the fumes. His secretaries and slaves were about him, and on them he sprinkled water, with the formula of a libation: "To Jove the Liberator!" His body was burned privately, without any funeral ceremonies, according to the arrangements he had made when in the splendor of his power and full enjoyment of his great wealth. Some writers, as Sicco Polentone, who have imagined that Seneca was a Christian at heart, represent that his final words were an invocation to Christ, and that he baptized himself with the water of the bath. But this is only a beautiful fiction.

III. ESTIMATE OF SENECA'S LIFE AND CHARACTER.

Seneca can not be judged properly without a careful regard to the times in which he lived. Every great character reflects his period. This reflection need not be that of the prevailing sentiment. Sometimes, as in the case of great reformers, it is that of a protest against it. Even then, however, it is the reflection of the protest which the better spirit of the age bears within itself. Martin Luther, one man standing out in antagonism to his contemporaries, was but the embodiment and reflection of Europe's aspiration of reform for three centuries. Seneca's chosen field was that of a moral teacher, and it is unreasonable to expect that, with only a pagan culture, and that at a time of Rome's moral decadence, he should exhibit either in his personal life or philosophy such an example as we could fairly expect from the simpler and purer Roman days, to say nothing of any Christian period. No age has surpassed that of the Caesars, particularly the later ones, in splendid iniquity. Horace could well say: "The age of our fathers, worse than that of our grandsires, has produced

us, who are yet baser, and who are doomed to give birth to a still more degraded offspring." Juvenal, fifty years later, could affirm: "Posterity will add nothing to our immorality; our descendants can but do and desire the same crimes as ourselves." Farrar, in referring to this testimony of contemporary witnesses, groups the evil characteristics of the times of Seneca under five heads: 1. The violent contrasts in social condition; 2. Atheism and superstition; 3. Excessive luxury; 4. Deep sadness; and, 5. Boundless cruelty. It was in the midst of such a civilization that Seneca lived and wrote, and the wonder is that we find so much in him that contrasts favorably with the spirit and life of his times. His genius, position, and the wishes of his father, first brought him within the circle of the political maelstrom. He frequently strove, later, to escape all contact with political life, and we must suppose his efforts sincere. We fully believe that the most unfavorable opinion of Seneca's complicity with Nero's guilt can apply only to the latest period of his life, when he found himself involved in the meshes of that emperor's cruel policy. Lipsius well exclaims: "How happy would Rome have been if Nero had continued to follow the advice of Seneca as he began! For what could be more commendable than the earlier years of his life, while under the direction of Seneca?" That he was a willing party to any wrong act, even his most severe critic, Dion Cassius, seems hardly to believe; but that he was a party at all was both his crime and misfortune, and from the two there is no possibility of acquitting him. The most that can be done is to give him the benefit of a careful weighing of the palliating circumstances which surrounded him. Much stress has been laid upon Seneca's enormous wealth. Tacitus refers to it, but declares that Seneca's wealth had no effect upon

his temperate and even austere life: "Seneca, with a diet exceedingly simple, supported an abstemious life, satisfying the call of hunger by wild fruit from the wood, and of thirst by a draught from the brook." The philosopher began life with great wealth, and after his return from exile, and during his tutorship of Nero, there came vast accessions to it from the hands of that ruler. He had treasures in other lands, as Egypt and Britain, and, like his wealthy contemporaries, derived immense revenue from money at interest. Tacitus nowhere charges Seneca with guilt in the acquisition or retention of it. Seneca, even requesting Nero to take from him his fortune, used the following noble language: "Order the auditors of thy revenue to undertake the direction of my fortune, and annex it to thine own; nor shall I by this plunge myself into indigence and poverty; but, having only surrendered that wondrous opulence which exposes me to the offensive blaze of so much splendor, I shall redeem the time which at present is employed in the care of pompous feasts and gardens, and apply it to the repose and cultivation of my mind."

The misfortune of Seneca's career was his tutorship of Nero, and while in the early exercise of this office he used every means to guard his pupil against wickedness. Later, however, when he could no longer control him, he seems not to have hesitated to approve of the misdoings of Nero. He was, perhaps, still in the hope that, by this means, he might moderate the violence of the youthful despot. But this was no sufficient ground for vacillation, or for practical approval of wrong, even though exile or death was the certain penalty.

IV. SENECA'S PHILOSOPHY.

The position which Seneca occupies as a philosopher is not that of an originator so much as an expounder. We must content ourselves here with merely indicating his relation, as a philosopher, to his times, and his position as a believer in the Divine Being, and in the moral laws which he has imposed upon the universe. While Seneca adopted the general principles of the Stoic system, he by no means adhered strictly to them, but seems to have reserved to himself the large rights of the eclectic thinker. The Roman mind was not at all adapted to the repose and equanimity which form a fundamental element in Stoicism. It was only after popular liberty was lost, when the government became a thing that lay within the reach of the most ambitious and unscrupulous, and morals became corrupt, that we find any tendency to fall back upon the resources of the mind itself. Says M. Aubertin :

“The establishment of the empire, while pacifying eloquence and suppressing liberty, did not enfeeble philosophy. It gave it, on the other hand, a higher importance, a less uncertain credit, and more faithful partisans. In the general abasement, in the mental waste and the incurable ennui where so soon the ardor of the noblest souls was chilled, philosophy, the sole consoler amid this fearful disgrace, offered to the conquered, if not an impossible hope, at least a refuge and an indemnification. Hence, says Horace, the faithful interpreter of the delights of the contemporary mind, it became ‘the work of all the days, of all the ages, and of all the conditions.’ This world, grown old and condemned, there found its remedy and salvation. Philosophy gathered up the fragments from the irreparable shipwreck of liberty.”*

* Sénèque et Saint Paul, p. 103.

How this change in the condition of Roman political life involved a new employment of the mind, and that in the direction of Stoicism—the last resort in sorrow for every unchristian heart—has been very strongly stated by a writer in the *Westminster Review* :

“In the age of Seneca the fashionable Epicureanism of the earlier empire had been supplanted by the philosophy of the Porch. Roman independence had been destroyed; Caesar sat like an embodied destiny on the throne of the world, the terrestrial correspondent of the overruling Fate, the great cosmical unity, the generalized expression for the irrevocable order and irrevocable succession of individual or collective causes, in which men were inserted at the hour of their birth. A philosophy that encouraged political action could not but give offense. The true wisdom was to conquer the troubles of life by silent endurance; the true compensation for the abandonment of power or place was to be sought in retirement, resignation, the inward serenity which can neither be given nor taken away. The Stoical disinclination to a public career, or any form of political activity, tended, with more or less consciousness, towards the ideal of Apollonius of Tyana, who announced that he had no interest in the republic, but lived under the rule of the gods. From criminal preoccupation, from enervating luxury, from the satiety, the danger, and corruption of the times, the young, the ardent, the aspirant to a higher life turned away to seek a refuge in the internal resources of the Stoical retreat, a predisposition typifying the ultimate separation of the temporal and spiritual power. Stoicism thus became a religious philosophy, a code of moral precepts, of prudential regulations accommodated to the various exigencies of life. Of this school of practical wisdom and pious speculation Seneca was for a considerable time the distinguished chief.”*

Between Cicero and Seneca this Stoic philosophy took

* Vol. for 1867, pp. 71, 72.

root in Rome. The period was resplendent with a group of minds that seem to have derived all their inspiration from Greece, and yet to have comprehended well the moral needs of their own day. Says M. Aubertin :

“Leaving Cicero, and coming right to Seneca and his neo-Stoical contemporaries, what do we find? A philosophy abundant in new perspectives and of vast consequences. The basis of doctrine has undergone a transformation. The spiritualism of these philosophers has a character of mystical exaltation, impassioned raving, and religious enthusiasm unknown to the author of the *Tusculan orations*. Whence comes this new character, marked by such visible characteristics? It is the natural result of the labor of these eighty-six years that separate Cicero and Seneca. . . . The latter has left us a lively picture of these fruitful years; he is full of the reading of his masters; he hears their voices, cites fragments of their discourses, and reproduces their opinions with that vividness of imagination which is the dominant faculty of his remarkable mind.”*

These philosophers did not neglect metaphysical study, but their taste lay chiefly in the department of morals. Seneca, while he was a careful gleaner from his immediate Roman predecessors, and always cites them in support of his opinions, went far beyond any of them in the development of his system.

Seneca's view of Deity is essentially that found in the Stoic system in its best state. There is a supreme God, who is the soul of the world. He has operated on matter as organizer, not as creator. Matter is eternal, but disordered, and only waited for the divine soul to bring it into harmony. Matter has no soul; it is simply inert and passive, and subject to the power of God. God is the divine reason, placed in the world. While God has

* *Sénèque et Saint Paul*, pp. 101, 102.

made the world out of pre-existent matter, he has not been able to change its essence. This accounts for the reign of evil, for matter has essentially an evil principle. God has supreme control over human affairs. He descends to men, and dwells with them. Our condition is fully known to him. It is to him that we live, and to him that we must approve ourselves. We must so live that God will see only good in us, for he sees just what we are. "There is no need," says Seneca to Lucilius, "to lift your hands to heaven, or to pray the aedile to admit you to the ear of an image, that so your prayers may be heard the better. God is near thee; he is with thee. . . . A holy spirit resides within us, the observer of good and evil, and our constant guardian. As we treat him, he treats us. At least no man is without God. Can any one ever rise above the power of fortune without his assistance? It is he that inspires us with thoughts upright, just, and pure. We do not, indeed, pretend to say *what* god; but that a god dwells in the breast of every good man is certain."* This universe could only be restrained from ruin by the presence of God. The least events and the lowest lives are known to him. We must, therefore, submit fully to God. Our condition may be wretched, but this is sometimes a necessity for our discipline. God could relieve us from misery, but then that would not always be best. We are in a condition which requires training and the highest culture.

Seneca, in his entire ethical system, went far beyond his times. "He seems," says Gillett, "as if by a flash of intuition, to apprehend the moral relations of men, and the proper aims and duties of human life. He sets himself up as a teacher—not an example, for he confesses his

* Epistula xli.

imperfections and deficiencies—and his words are memorable alike for their terseness and their worth. That he stood aloof from Christianity—that the vigor of his years had passed before he could have had any knowledge of Christianity — adds to our surprise.”* The ethics of Seneca are based upon God’s identification with the universe and his presence in human life. Here belongs the brotherhood of man. We are not isolated in any sense, for the whole family of humanity is united by the bonds of a common origin. Nature made us relatives when it begat us from the same materials and for the same destinies. It planted in us a mutual love, and fitted us for a social life. What is a Roman knight, or freedman, or slave? These are but names that spring from ambition or injury. Our country is the world, and our guardians are the gods. Slavery, therefore, is to be condemned as a crime against God. “Seneca,” says Lecky, “has filled pages with exhortations to masters to remember that the accident of position in no degree affects the real dignity of men; that the slave may be free by virtue, while the master may be a slave by vice; and that it is the duty of a good man to abstain not only from all cruelty, but even from all feeling of contempt towards his slaves.”† All exhibitions of a man’s rights to make another suffer are cruel in the extreme. Gladiatorial contests, therefore, have no possible apology. Such amusements are “brutalizing, savage, and detestable.” Man must imitate the natural world, where each has his right and his own part to play. In nature we find apparent disturbances and irregularities. Earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and violent storms would seem to be abnormal. But this is not the fact. They are

* God in Human Thought, vol. i, p. 253.

† History of European Morals, vol. i, p. 324.

only the evidences of the reign of cosmic law. To show this order in nature was the design of the "Natural Questions" of Seneca, perhaps more than any other work of antiquity the direct forerunner of Humboldt's "Cosmos." That work of Seneca was valued by Montaigne more highly than any other, because of its having been written in old age, after the temptations to the enjoyment of popular and imperial favor had ceased. We close our reference to Seneca's philosophy by citing the general view, as just as it is forcible, of a writer, already referred to, in the *Westminster Review* :

"Free from the superstitions of the populace, exalted above the illusions of Stoical orthodoxy, replacing the multiplicity of gods by the unity of the divine nature, and substituting for external worship the spiritual adoration which lies in the knowledge of God and the humble imitation of his perfection, Seneca, as a competent authority observes, holds a foremost rank among those who represent in its highest purity the elevated moral conception which classical antiquity attained. True to the old Stoical traditions, he yet gave predominance to the religious point of view, introducing into his teaching a difference in degree that was almost a difference in mind. Hence his theology became more human—his deity more personal. Contemporaneously with the missionaries of a new faith, he insisted on the necessity of obedience to the will of God, of a life in harmony with the divine nature, of the presence of God in the soul of man, of the slave as well as the free, of self-surrender to the Providence that orders the world, as the ground of all internal freedom and peace. The practical character of his morality, his conviction of human weakness and imperfection, his lessons of mercy and forgiveness, his doctrine of forbearance and indulgence to human infirmity, his ideal of the married life, his estimate of true friendship, his spirit of universal love and divine impartiality, at once attest the nobleness of his moral aspirations, and illustrate the mutual approach

of the wisdom of the Greek and Roman world, and of the enlarging piety of a less exclusive Palestine. The work that Seneca endeavored to do, however imperfectly, must always have a profound interest for the student of that great religious revolution which formed a crisis in the history of the human race, not only on general grounds, but because, to borrow the remarkable expression quoted by M. Martha from the eloquent Tertullian, it was '*testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae.*'"*

V. WORKS OF SENECA.

Seneca's writings have not all been preserved. We have the greater part, however, and from those still extant we can well appreciate Quintilian's statement concerning him, "that he treated on almost every subject of study; for both orations of his, and poems, and epistles, and dialogues, are extant."† It is not probable that any leading work of Seneca has been lost, for being a great favorite in the early Church, the interest in his writings served to preserve them, while those of less-favored Roman authors were neither copied nor cared for. The list of his works, as given by George Long in Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology," forms the basis of our catalogue.

1. *De Ira*. In three books. This was addressed to Novatus, and was one of Seneca's earliest works. 2. *De Consolatione ad Helviam Matrem Liber*. Written to his mother during his banishment to Corsica. One of his purest and best works. 3. *De Consolatione ad Polybium Liber*. Composed in the third year of Seneca's Corsican exile. Diderot and others maintain that it is not by Seneca, because it is unworthy of him. But the external evidences are too strong. 4. *De Consolatione ad Marciam Liber*. Written after Seneca's return from exile, and

* Vol. for 1867, p. 84.

† Inst. Orat., x, 1, § 129.

designed to console Marcia for the loss of her son. Marcia was the daughter of A. Cremutius Cordus. 5. *De Providentia*. "A Golden Book," says Lipsius. Seneca's design here is to prove that Providence has a power over all things, and that God is always present with us. 6. *De Tranquillitate Animi*. Written shortly after Seneca's return from banishment, when he was prae-tor, and had become Nero's tutor. The object is to discover the true means by which peace of mind can be attained. The author, surrounded by all the splendors of the court, writes as one very ill at ease. 7. *De Constantia Sapientis, seu quod in Sapientem non cadit Injuria*. Addressed to Serenus, and founded on the Stoic doctrine of the wise man's impassiveness. Lipsius says of it: "This book betokens a great mind, as great a wit, and much eloquence; in a word, it is one of his best." 8. *De Clementia ad Neronem Caesarem Libri duo*. There is too much flattery in this work. It is here that Seneca relates the anecdote of Nero's unwillingness to sign a sentence of execution, and his exclamation: "I would I could neither read nor write!" The second book is incomplete. 9. *De Brevitate Vitae*. Written to Paulinus, and recommending the proper employment of time, and the best means to derive wisdom from our life. 10. *De Vita Beata*. Addressed to his brother, L. Junius Gallio, and pleading that there is no happiness without virtue, though health and riches have their value. The conclusion is lost. 11. *De Otio*. Sometimes joined to *De Vita Beata*. 12. *De Beneficiis*. In seven books, addressed to Aebucius Liberalis, and explaining the way of conferring a favor, and the duties of the giver and recipient. 13. *Epistulae Morales*. One hundred and twenty-four, written to Lucilius, and consisting of moral maxims. Composed for the most part in the latter period of Seneca's life, and com-

prising his moral reflections after losing imperial favor. 14. *Apocolocyntosis*. A satire on the deceased Emperor Claudius. It is a play on the word pumpkin, and means pumpkinification, or the reception of Claudius among the pumpkins. 15. *Quaestiones Naturales*. In seven books, addressed to Lucilius: the work deals with questions of natural history, and comprises copious extracts from various Greek and Roman authors. 16. *Tragoediae*. Ten tragedies are attributed to Seneca by various Latin writers, Quintilian among the number. (Inst. Orat., ix, 2, § 8.) They bear the following titles: *Hercules Furens*, *Thyestes*, *Thebais* or *Phoenissae*, *Hippolytus* or *Phaedra*, *Oedipus*, *Troades* or *Hecuba*, *Medea*, *Agamemnon*, *Hercules Oetaeus*, and *Octavia*. As the titles indicate, the subjects are mostly from the Greek mythology. They are written in iambic senarii, interspersed with choral parts, in anapaestic and other metres. None of these tragedies are adapted to the stage, and were never intended for that purpose. They were designed for reading or recitation, after the fashion of the Roman rhetorical training. Moral sentiments abound in them all, as with every thing that Seneca wrote.

VI. EDITIONS.

The *Editio Princeps* of Seneca was issued in Naples, 1475, in folio. The edition of J. F. Gronovius (Leyden), 1649–58, is in 4 vols. 12mo; that of Ruhkopf (Leipzig), 1797–1811, 5 vols. 8vo; and that of C. R. Fickert (Leipzig), 1842–45, 3 vols. 8vo. The French writers, as stated above, probably through the impulse of Montaigne, have bestowed great attention on Seneca, both in textual criticism and translation. Lagrange's version is the best. In England, the first edition of *The Workes of L. Annaeus Seneca, both Morall and Naturall*, translated by Thomas Lodge, appeared in London in 1614, with a Latin

dedication to Chancellor Ellesmere. An English translation of the Tragedies, by several hands, appeared as early as 1581. Bähr, in his *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, vol. i, gives a copious bibliography relating to Seneca.

VII. RELATIONS OF SENECA AND ST. PAUL.

To the student of sacred and ecclesiastical history the question of the relations of Seneca and St. Paul is one of the most interesting connected with the boundary line between Christianity and the pagan philosophy. The coincidences between the writings of the two are among the unsolved problems of literary history. Every writer on the subject concedes them to be striking, and those who do not admit an acquaintance have difficulty in explaining the parallelism. The most common solution of the latter class is thus expressed, by the writer already referred to, in the *Westminster Review*:

“This resemblance is only one among many instances of the drift of the common consciousness, under the same impelling winds of motion, to a similar or analogous intellectual and moral deliverance. The common thought, the common feeling, the common misery, the common aspiration—in a word, the common development of the human mind, had manifestations unlike, yet not all unlike, in Greece and in Judaea; and Saul of Tarsus and Seneca of Rome, each in his own way, acknowledged the smiting presence of the new light that was dawning on a half-expectant world.”

Of the co-operative character of the writings of St. Paul and Seneca as great moral teachers, Merivale thus speaks:

“Far different as was their social standing-point, far different as were the foundations and the presumed sanctions

of their teaching respectively, Seneca and St. Paul were both moral reformers; both, be it said with reverence, were fellow-workers in the cause of humanity, though the Christian could look beyond the proximate aims of morality, and prepare men for a final development on which the Stoic could not venture to gaze. Hence there is so much in their principles, so much in their language, that agrees together; so that the one has been thought, though it must be owned without adequate reason, to have borrowed directly from the other. But the philosopher, be it remembered, discoursed to a large and not inattentive audience; and surely the soil was not all unfruitful on which his seed was scattered, when he proclaimed that God dwells not in temples of wood or stone, nor wants the ministrations of human hands; that he has no delight in the blood of victims; that he is near to all his creatures; that his spirit resides in men's hearts; that all men are truly his offspring; that we are members of one body, which is God or nature; that men must believe in God before they can approach him; that the true service of God is to be like unto him; that all men have sinned, and none performed all the works of the law; that God is no respecter of persons, ranks, or conditions; but all, barbarian and Roman, bond and free, are alike under his all-seeing providence.*

The early faith of the Church attached much importance to the acquaintance and friendship of these two men—the one representing all that was vital, aggressive, and hopeful in primitive Christianity, and the other all that was truthful and worthy in the latest Stoic philosophy. We can, therefore, look upon the production and wide circulation of a spurious correspondence of fourteen letters between them as only natural results of a fond desire to see in the pagan mind a willing acquiescence in revealed truth, on the first propagation of it, in the metropolis of the world. “From the age of St. Jerome,” says Lightfoot, “Seneca was commonly regarded as standing

* History of the Romans under the Empire, vol. v, pp. 457, 458.

on the very threshold of the Christian Church, even if he had not actually passed within its portals. In one ecclesiastical council at least, held at Tours in the year 567, his authority is quoted with a deference generally accorded only to fathers of the Church. And even to the present day, in the marionette plays of his native Spain, St. Seneca takes his place by the side of St. Peter and St. Paul in the representations of our Lord's passion."* Jerome took note of this correspondence in the following language: "*Quem non ponerem in catalogo sanctorum, nisi me illae epistulae provocarent quae leguntur a plurimis, Pauli ad Senecam et Senecae ad Paulum.*"† This, of course, decides nothing as to the authenticity of the letters; but the credulous spirit of the whole mediæval Church was only too ready to adopt this revered father's language as a strong endorsement of the correspondence. The internal character of the letters is thoroughly decisive of their spuriousness. The barrenness of thought, the impurity of the style, the errors in matters of fact, and especially the frequent violations of historical and chronological accuracy, prove them unworthy the place they have occupied in ecclesiastical literature. (These letters are given at the end of the present volume.) Of all writers, the French have manifested most confidence in the authenticity of the correspondence; and in cases where they have not gone to this extreme, they have discussed the question with an animation and wealth of research that have attracted the admiration of the learned world. The most complete treatise on the subject is that of Fleury. This author, while claiming that Paul and Seneca were on intimate relations, concedes the improbability of the correspondence, on the ground of its being "a composition of very inferior grade, a sort of school-boy

* Epistle to the Philippians, pp. 296, 297, 3d ed. † Vir. Illust., 12.

exercise, abundant in rhetorical excesses, couched in very poor language, now containing borrowed expressions from Tacitus, and now others from the existing version of Paul's epistles."* Fleury enriches his treatise by a description of the whole literature of this special subject,† and by his excellent bibliography of the manuscripts and editions containing the alleged correspondence between St. Paul and Seneca.‡ The most recent French writer on this subject is Charles Aubertin, who enters into the full criticism of the contemporary philosophy, and concludes not only that the correspondence is without any claim to authenticity, but that Seneca's writings no more prove him to have been a Christian than do the works of Plato, Cicero, and other Greek and Roman philosophical and moral writers prove them to have been followers of Christ. Lightfoot points out the untenability of Seneca's parallelism with St. Paul on the ground of the former's frequent priority to Paul's writings, the existence of the same parallels in previous authors, the many fallacious coincidences, and the depth of the opposition of his tenets to those of Paul.§ However, Lightfoot thus concludes that there are many coincidences which can not be explained on these grounds:

"But after all allowance made for the considerations just urged, some facts remain which still require explanation. It appears that the Christian parallels in Seneca's writings become more frequent as he advances in life. It is not less true that they are much more striking and more numerous than in the other great Stoics of the Roman period, Epictetus and M. Aurelius; for though in character these later writers approached much nearer to the Christian ideal than the minister of Nero, though

* Saint Paul et Sénèque, vol. ii, pp. 281, 282.

† Vol. i, pp. 2-9.

‡ Vol. ii, pp. 283-297.

§ Epistle to the Philippians, 3d edition, pp. 289-296. London, 1873.

their fundamental doctrines are as little inconsistent with Christian theology and ethics as his, yet the closer resemblances of sentiment and expression, which alone would suggest any direct obligations to Christianity, are, I believe, decidedly more frequent in Seneca. Lastly: after all deductions made, a class of coincidences still remains, of which the expression 'spend and be spent' may be taken as a type, and which can hardly be considered accidental. If any historical connection (direct or indirect) can be traced with a fair degree of probability, we may reasonably look to this for the solution of such coincidences. I shall content myself here with stating the different ways in which such a connection was possible or probable, without venturing to affirm what was actually the case, for the data are not sufficient to justify any definite theory.*

The weakest part of Lightfoot's criticism is his endeavor to show that these coincidences are due to the Semitic origin of Stoicism, and that Tarsus, especially, being a seat of Stoic philosophy, Paul became acquainted with that system, and used the religious vocabulary of the Stoics in his epistles, or "found in the ethical language of the Stoics expressions more fit than he could find elsewhere to describe in certain aspects the duties and privileges, the struggles and the triumphs, of the Christian life." Lightfoot really attributes the remarkable coincidences between Paul and Seneca to Paul's using Stoical terminology, a thing which can not be admitted for a moment. Had there been no Stoa, there could have been, just as easily, the great structure of the Pauline theology. Paul used the Greek language, with all its charm of imagery and subtle force, as the vehicle of his thoughts; but he placed no dependence, in the constructive part of his theology, on the poor resources of any system of pagan philosophy. It was Seneca, and not any

* Epistle to the Philippians, pp. 300, 301.

other writer of his entire school, or of all paganism, who used, in the same sense as Paul, such words as flesh, angel, holy spirit, and offspring of God.*

It is not at all improbable that Paul and Seneca were acquainted with each other. Paul long had in mind a visit to Rome, and regarded that metropolis as a point of departure for missionary labors in Spain, if not in the North (Romans i, 13 ; xv, 23, 24), and we can not suppose him to have been without interest in the prevailing religious thought of the time and place. This would account for an independent interest in the best contemporary moral writer, Seneca, and would make their meeting no undesirable event on the apostle's part. Seneca, too, would be equally interested in the man who stood at the head of the new faith, and of whose writings he might well have had some knowledge. Once, when an important crisis had arrived in Paul's ministry, in Corinth, and when the issue of an important Jewish persecution of him had to be decided by the governor of Achaia, to whom appeal had been made, the result was favorable to Paul; for, after the Jews had made their charge, and Paul was about to open his mouth in his own defense, this governor or deputy, Gallio by name, regarded it unnecessary, and dismissed the charge in these words: "If it were a matter of wrong, or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you; but if it be a question of words and names, and of your law, look ye to it: for I will be no judge of such matters." The result was, he drove them from the judgment-seat. Now who should this Gallio be but Seneca's own brother, M. Annaeus Novatus, who took the name Junius Annaeus Gallio on passing by adoption into another family. Far-rar, not without good ground, says: "We can easily im-

* See Parallelisms, at end of Introduction.

agine that Gallio was Seneca's favorite brother, and we are not surprised to find that the philosopher dedicated to him his three books on 'Anger,' and his charming little treatise 'On a Happy Life!'"* Seldom has a brother paid to another such a tribute as Seneca thus pays to his brother Gallio: "I used to say to you that my brother Gallio (whom every one loves a little, even people who can not love him much) was wholly ignorant of other vices, but even detested this. You might try him in any direction. You began to praise his intellect—an intellect of the highest and worthiest kind, . . . and he walked away! You began to praise his moderation; he instantly cut short your first words. You began to express admiration for his blandness and natural suavity of manner, . . . yet even here he resisted your compliments; and if you were led to exclaim that you had found a man who could not be overcome by those insidious attacks which every one else admits, and hoped that he would at least tolerate this compliment because of its truth, even on this ground he would resist your flattery; not as though you had been awkward, or as though he suspected that you were jesting with him, or had some secret end in view, but simply because he had a horror of every form of adulation."† Must we not suppose that the relations between two such brothers were very intimate?‡ And is there not excellent ground for the conjecture of Schoell, in his *Histoire de la Littérature Romaine*: "In all probability the proprætor, in his correspondence with his brother, had mentioned this Jewish teacher, who had preached the Gospel for eighteen months in the capital of his prov-

* Seekers after God, pp. 20, 21. † Quæstiones Naturales, lib. iv.

‡ On the relations of Paul and Gallio, and the character of the latter, comp. Lewin, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*. Second edition. Vol. i, pp. 291, 292.

ince!" It must also be borne in mind that the most striking parallels between Seneca and St. Paul occur in the later works of Seneca, such as his *De Vita Beata* and *De Beneficiis*, both of which were composed after A.D. 61—the year when Paul arrived in Rome—and, above all, in his epistles, written near the close of his life.* When Paul arrived in Rome he was placed in charge of the prefect of the Praetorian Guards, who allowed him to dwell in a private house with a soldier, who kept him in sight, and gave him liberty to see his friends. Now this prefect was none other than Burrhus, whom we have already mentioned as an intimate friend of Seneca, and associate of the latter at Nero's court. "Is it not natural," M. Schoell well asks, "to suppose that their conversation would have turned upon this bold and eloquent Jewish teacher, who, on account of new religious opinions, had been persecuted in Palestine, and had appealed to the tribunal of the emperor? Would not Seneca have been curious to see and hear this extraordinary man?" We do not regard it necessary to suppose that any special intimacy existed between the Christian Paul and the Stoic Seneca, in order to account for parallelism in their writings. The tradition, deep-rooted, and often repeated through many centuries, is at least very significant. Or, as De Maistre says: "The tradition concerning the Christianity of Seneca, and on his relations with St. Paul, without being finally decisive, is nevertheless far more than nothing, if one connect with it certain other presumptions."† Seneca's mental altitude and achievements prove him to have been ready for at least a guarded inter-

* Fr. Ch. Gelpe, *Tractatiuncula de familiaritate quae Paulo apostolo cum Seneca philosopho intercessisse traditur, verisimillima.* Lips., 1813, 4to. Quoted in *New Brunswick Review*, Feb., 1855.

† *Soirées de Saint Petersburg*, IX^e Entretien.

change of opinions with Paul, and it may well have happened that the influence of the philosopher at Nero's court had weight in securing such delay of the Apostle's trial as resulted later in the latter's liberation, and in his making one more missionary tour.

PARALLELS OR RESEMBLANCES TO HOLY SCRIPTURE IN SENECA'S WRITINGS.

1. GOD'S MERCY AND GOODNESS.

"He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." Matt. v, 45.

"The earth is full of the goodness of the Lord." Psalm xxxiii, 5.

"He doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men." Lam. iii, 33.

"How many are unworthy of the light; and yet the day dawns . . . See what great things the gods bring to pass daily, what great gifts they bestow, with what abundant fruits they fill the earth . . . with what suddenly falling showers they soften the ground. . . . If you imitate the gods, confer benefits even on the unthankful: for the sun rises even on the wicked, and the seas are open to pirates." De Benef. i, 1, 11; iv, 25, 26; cf. also vii, 31.

"The deity wants not ministers. How so? He himself ministereth to the human race. He is at hand everywhere, and to all men." "The man is mistaken who thinks that the gods afflict any one willingly." Epist. 95, 47, 48.

2. OMNISCIENCE OF GOD.

"Shall not God search this out? for he knoweth the secrets of the heart." Ps. xliv, 21.

"All things are naked and opened unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do." Heb. iv, 13.

"Pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly." Matt. vi, 6.

"For the Lord seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart." 1 Sam. xvi, 7; see also Luke xvi, 15.

"Certainly we ought so to live as if we were living in the very sight of man; we ought so to think as if some one were able to gaze into the inmost recesses of our heart. And, indeed, there is one able so to do. For what avails it to keep any thing secret from man? Nothing is hid or closed to god: he is present to our minds, and enters into the midst of our thoughts." Epist. 83, 1.

"No one knows god; many entertain strange and wicked opinions about him, even with impunity." Epist. 31, 9.

3. INDWELLING OF GOD'S SPIRIT.

"Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" 1 Cor. iii, 16.

"He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you." Rom. viii, 11.

"God is near thee; he is with thee; he is within thee. . . . A holy spirit resides within us, and is the guardian and observer of our good and evil deeds." Epist. 41, 1.

"Do you wonder that man goes to the gods? God comes to men; nay, what is nearer, he comes into men. No good mind is without god." Epist. 73, 14.

4. FORGIVENESS OF INJURIES.

"Then came Peter unto him and said, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him? Till seven times? Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee until seven times, but until seventy times seven." Matt. xviii, 21; Luke xvii, 4.

"If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head." Rom. xii, 20.

"A wise man will pardon an injury, though it be great, and if he can do it without breach of piety and fidelity, that is, if the whole injury shall pertain to himself." Epist. 81, 14.

"Let him, whoever wishes, treat you with reproach and injury; you will suffer nothing so long as you adhere to virtue. If you wish to be happy, to be a good man in good faith, suffer it that any one (who chooses) condemn or despise you." Epist. 71, 7.

"I will be agreeable to friends, gentle and yielding to enemies."
De Vit. Beat. 20, 4.

5. SELF-EXAMINATION.

"Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves." 2 Cor. xiii, 5.

"Let a man examine himself," etc. 1 Cor. xi, 28.

"Let us search and try our ways, and turn again to the Lord." *Lam.* iii, 40.

"As far as thou canst, accuse thyself, try thyself: discharge the office, first of a prosecutor, then of a judge, lastly of an intercessor."
Epist. 28, 7.

"When the light is removed out of sight, and my wife, who is by this time aware of my practice, is now silent, I pass the whole of my day under examination, and I review my deeds and words. I hide nothing from myself, I pass over nothing." *De Ira*, iii, 36, 3.

6. SELF-SACRIFICE FOR OTHERS.

"I will very gladly spend and be spent for you." 2 Cor. xii, 15.

"I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep." John x, 11.

"Good men toil, they spend, and are spent, willingly indeed." *De Prov.* 5, 3.

"Let us use these things (intrusted to us); let us not boast of them; and let us use them sparingly, as a loan deposited with us which will soon depart." *Epist.* 74, 18.

7. DUTIES TOWARDS OTHER MEN.

"Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." Matt. vii, 12.

"Masters, give unto your servants that which is equal and just, knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven." Col. iv, 1.

"And if it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." Rom. xii, 18.

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Matt. xxii, 39.

"Be kindly affectioned one to another. . . . Recompense no man evil for evil." Rom. xii, 10, 17.

"This is the sum of what I would prescribe; live so with an inferior as you would have a superior live with you." *Epist.* 47, 9.

"Man is born for mutual assistance." *De Ira*, i, 5, 2.

"You must live for another, if you would live for yourself." *Epist.* 48, 2.

"While we are among men let us cultivate kindness; let us not be to any man a cause of peril or of fear." *De Ira*, iii, 43, 5.

"I will so live as if I knew that I was born for others, and will give thanks to Nature on this score." *De Vit. Beat.* 20, 2.

"How must we behave ourselves towards men? and how do we behave? What precepts do we give in this respect? To abstain from shedding human blood? But what a small thing is it not to hurt him to whom we ought to do all the good that lies in our power? It is indeed praiseworthy for men to be kindly disposed towards one another. Shall we, then, direct a man to reach out his hand to the shipwrecked, to show the wandering traveller his way, and to divide our bread with the hungry? Yes, certainly." *Epist.* 95, 50, 51.

8. OBEDIENCE TRUE LIBERTY.

"If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed. . . . Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." *John* viii, 36, 32.

"Whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty and continueth therein." *James* i, 25.

"Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." *2 Cor.* iii, 17.

"The liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free." *Gal.* v, 1.

"To obey God is (true) liberty." *De Vit. Beat.* 15, 6.

"It is necessary for you to serve philosophy, in order that true liberty may fall to your lot" (quoted from Epicurus). *Epist.* 8, 6.

9. DOMINION OF SIN.

"The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." *Gen.* viii, 21.

"If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." *1 John* i, 8.

"You hath he quickened, who were dead in trespasses and sins." *Gal.* ii, 1, 5.

"Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries," etc. *Matt.* xv, 19.

"If we would be upright judges of all things, let us first persuade ourselves of this, that not one of us is without fault." . . . "No one will be found who can acquit himself; and any man calling himself

innocent, has regard to the witness, not to his own conscience." *De Ira*, ii, 27, 5; i, 14, 3.

"We shall ever be obliged to pronounce the same sentence upon ourselves, that we are evil, that we have been evil, and, I will add it unwillingly, that we shall be evil." . . . "All vices exist in all men, but all do not exist in each and every man (alike)." *De Benef.* i, 10, 3; iv, 27, 2.

"The first and greatest punishment of sinners is the fact of having sinned." *Epist.* 97, 12.

10. CHASTISEMENTS FOR DISCIPLINE.

"Behold, happy is the man whom God correcteth; therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty." *Job* v, 17.

"For whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth." *Heb.* xii, 6.

"It is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well doing, than for evil doing." *1 Pet.* iii, 17.

"Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake: rejoice, and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven." *Matt.* v, 11, 12.

"The gods, however, sometimes chastise, and coerce, and lay heavy penalties on some men, and punish them under the appearance of some good. Do you desire to propitiate the gods? Be a good man. He has sufficiently and properly worshipped the gods who has imitated them (to the extent of his power)." *Epist.* 95, 50.

"Nature (i. e., the deity) has commanded justice and equity to us: by her appointment it is more wretched to do an injury than to suffer one; and by her command our hands are ever ready to assist (a brother)." *Epist.* 95, 53.

"God has a fatherly mind towards good men, and loves them stoutly: and, he says, let them be harassed with toils, with pains, with losses, that they may gather true strength." *De Prov.* 2, 4.

"Those therefore whom God approves, whom he loves, them he hardens, he chastises, he disciplines." *De Prov.* 4, 7.

"A life free from care and from any buffetings of fortune is a dead sea." *Epist.* 67, 14.

11. AVARICE, OR LOVE OF MONEY.

"And he said, This will I do: I will pull down my barns, and build greater; and there will I bestow all my fruits and my

goods. And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry. But God said unto him, Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee; then whose shall those things be which thou hast provided?" Matt. xii, 17-19.

"The love of money is the root of all evil." 1 Tim. vi, 10.

"It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." Matt. xix, 24.

"Godliness with contentment is great gain." 1 Tim. vi, 6.

"Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt . . . for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." Matt. vi, 19-21.

"Apply thyself to the true riches. It is shameful to depend for a happy life on silver and gold." Epist. 110, 18.

"Let thy good deeds be invested like a treasure deep buried in the ground, which thou canst not bring to light, except it be necessary." De Vit. Beat. 24, 2.

"O how great is the madness of those who embark on distant hopes: I will buy, I will build, I will lend out, I will demand payment, I will bear honors; then at length I will resign my old age, wearied and sated, to rest." Epist. 101, 4.

"We shall be wise if we desire but little; if each man takes count of himself, and at the same time measures his own body, he will know how little it can contain, and for how short a time." Epist. 114, 26.

12. LIFE A WARFARE.

"Is there not a warfare to every man upon earth?" Job vii, 1.

"So fight I, not as one that beateth the air; but I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest that by any means when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway." 1 Cor. ix, 26, 27.

"Dearly beloved, I beseech you, as strangers and pilgrims, to abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul." 1 Pet. ii, 11.

"Thou therefore endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." 2 Tim. ii, 3.

"Fight the good fight of faith." 1 Tim. vi, 12.

"This I say, brethren, the time is short. It remaineth . . . that (ye) use this world as not abusing it. For the fashion of this world passeth away." 1 Cor. vii, 29, 31.

"*Life itself, my Lucilius, is a warfare.*" *Epist.* 96, 3. See *Epist.* 120, 13; 51, 5.

"*We can never quarrel enough with our vices, which, I beseech you, Lucilius, to persecute perpetually. Throw away from you everything that tears the heart; and if you cannot otherwise get rid of it, spare not the heart itself.*" *Epist.* 51, 13.

"*What blows do athletes receive in their face, what blows all over their body. . . . Yet they bear all the torture from thirst of glory. Let us also overcome all things, for our reward is not a crown or a palm-branch, or the trumpeter proclaiming silence for the announcement of our name, but virtue and strength of mind, and peace acquired ever after.*" *Epist.* 78, 15.

"*The end of all things is at hand; that (period), I say, is near, whence the happy man is cast out, and the unhappy released.*" *Epist.* 110, 4.

13. NEED OF DIVINE GRACE.

"By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God." *Eph.* ii, 8.

"Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God." *2 Cor.* iii, 5. See also *Rom.* vii, 18, 19.

"Without me ye can do nothing." *John* xv, 5.

"*What is it, Lucilius, that, as we are intentionally going one way, still drives us another? What is it that detains us there, where we have no inclination to stay? What is it that thwarts our will, nor permits us to determine upon any one thing seriously? Our thoughts are ever wavering; we will nothing freely, nothing absolutely and always. . . . But how or when shall we get cured of this (malady)? No one has strength enough of himself to emerge (from it).*" *Epist.* 52, 1. See also *Epist.* 102.

L. ANNAEI SENECAE

AD LUCILIUM

QUARE ALIQUA INCOMMODA BONIS VIRIS
ACCIDANT CUM PROVIDENTIA SIT

SIVE

DE PROVIDENTIA

LIBER UNUS.

Si quis autem volet scire plenius, cur malos et iniustos deus potentes, beatos, divites fieri sinat, pios contra humiles, miseros, inopesque esse patiatur; sumat eum SENECAE librum, cui titulus est: *Quare bonis viris multa mala accidunt, cum sit providentia*: in quo ille multa, non plane imperitia saeculari, sed sapienter ac paene divinitus elocutus est.

LACTANTIUS.

AD LUCILIUM

DE PROVIDENTIA.

I. QUÆSISTI a me, Lucili, quid ita, si providentia mundus ageretur, multa bonis viris mala accidere? Hoc commodius in contextu operis redderetur, cum praeesse universis providentiam probarem et interesse nobis deum: sed quoniam a toto particulam revelli placet et unam contradictionem manente lite integra solvere, faciam rem non difficilem, causam deorum agam. 2. Supervacuum est in praesentia ostendere non sine aliquo custode tantum opus stare, nec hunc siderum coetum discursumque fortuiti inpetus esse, et quae casus incitat saepe turbari et cito arietare, hanc inoffensam velocitatem procedere aeternae legis imperio tantum rerum terra marique gestantem, tantum clarissimorum luminum et ex dispositore lucentium: non esse materiae errantis hunc ordinem, nec quae temere coeunt, tanta arte pendere, ut terrarum gravissimum pondus sedeat inmotum et circa se properantis coeli fugam spectet, ut infusa vallibus maria molliant terras nec ullum incrementum fluminum sentiant, ut ex minimis seminibus nascantur ingentia. 3. Ne illa quidem quae videntur confusa et incerta, pluvias dico nubesque et elisorum fulminum iactus et incendia ruptis montium

verticibus effusa, tremores labantis soli et alia quae tumultuosa pars rerum circa terras movet, sine ratione, quamvis subita sint, accidunt: sed suas et illa causas habent non minus quam quae alienis locis conspecta miraculo sunt, ut in mediis fluctibus calentes aquae et nova insularum in vasto exsilitium mari spatia. 4. Iam vero si quis observaverit nudari litora pelago in se recedente eademque intra exiguum tempus operiri, credet caeca quadam volutione modo contrahi undas et introrsum agi, modo erumpere et magno cursu repetere sedem suam: cum interim illae portionibus crescunt et ad horam ac diem subeunt ampliores minoresque, prout illas lunare sidus elicit, ad cuius arbitrium oceanus exundat. Suo ista temporis reserventur eo quidem magis, quod tu non dubitas de providentia, sed quaeris. 5. In gratiam te reducam cum dis adversus optimos optimis. Neque enim rerum natura patitur ut umquam bona bonis noceant. Inter bonos viros ac deos amicitia est conciliante virtute: amicitiam dico? immo etiam necessitudo et similitudo: quoniam quidem bonus tempore tantum a deo differt, discipulus eius aemulatorque ei vera progenies, quam parens ille magnificus, virtutum non lenis exactor, sicut severi patres, durius educat. 6. Itaque cum videris bonos viros acceptosque dis laborare, sudare, per arduum ascendere, malos autem lascivire et voluptatibus fluere; cogita filiorum nos modestia delectari, vernularum licentia: illos disciplina tristiori contineri, horum ali audaciam. Idem tibi de deo liqueat: bonum virum in deliciis non habet: experitur, indurat, sibi illum parat.

II. Quare multa bonis viris adversa eveniunt? Nihil accidere bono viro mali potest: non miscentur contra-

ria. Quemadmodum tot amnes, tantum superne deiectionum imbrium, tanta medicamentorum vis fontium non mutant saporem maris, ne remittunt quidem: ita adversarum inpetus rerum viri fortis non vertit animum. Manet in statu et quicquid evenit, in suum colorem trahit. Est enim omnibus externis potentior. Nec hoc dico, non sentit illa, sed vincit et alioquin quietus placidusque contra incurrentia adtollitur. Omnia adversa exercitationes putat. 2. Quis autem, vir modo et erectus ad honesta, non est laboris adpetens iusti et ad officia cum periculo promptus? cui non industrio otium poena est? Athletas videmus, quibus virium cura est, cum fortissimis quibusque configere et exigere ab his per quos certamini praeparantur, ut totis contra ipsos viribus utantur: caedi se vexarique patiuntur et, si non inveniunt singulos pares, pluribus simul obiciuntur. 3. Marcet sine adversario virtus: tunc adparet quanta sit quantumque polleat, cum quid possit patientia ostendit. Scias licet idem viris bonis esse faciendum, ut dura ac difficilia non reformident nec de fato querantur: quicquid accidit, boni consulant, in bonum vertant. Non quid, sed quemadmodum feras interest. Non vides, quanto aliter patres, aliter matres indulgeant? illi exercitari iubent liberos ad studia obeunda mature, feriatis quoque diebus non patiuntur esse otiosos et sudorem illis et interdum lacrimas excutiunt: at matres fovere in sinu, continere in umbra volunt, numquam flere, numquam contristari, numquam laborare. 4. Patrium deus habet adversus bonos viros animum et illos fortiter amat et, operibus, inquit, doloribus, damnis exagitantur, ut verum colligant robur. Languent per inertiā saginata nec labore tantum, sed motu et ipso sui

onere deficiunt. Non fert ullum ictum inlaesa felicitas: at ubi adsidua fuit cum incommodis suis rixa, calum per iniurias duxit nec ulli malo cedit, sed etiam si cecidit, de genu pugnat. 5. Miraris tu, si deus ille bonorum amantissimus, qui illos quam optimos esse atque excellentissimos vult, fortunam illis cum qua exercentur adsignat? Ego vero non miror. Si aliquando impetum capiunt, spectant di magnos viros conluctantes cum aliqua calamitate. Nobis interdum voluptati est, si adulescens constantis animi inruentem feram venabulo exceptit, si leonis incursum interritus pertulit: tantoque hoc spectaculum est gratius, quanto id honestior fecit. 6. Non sunt ista, quae possint deorum in se voltum convertere, puerilia et humanae oblectamenta levitatis. Ecce spectaculum dignum ad quod respiciat intentus operi suo deus; ecce par deo dignum, vir fortis cum fortuna mala compositus, utique si et provocavit. Non video, inquam, quid habeat in terris Iupiter pulchrius, si convertere animum velit, quam ut spectet Catonem iam partibus non semel fractis stantem nihilominus inter ruinas publicas rectum. 7. Licet, inquit, omnia in unius ditionem concesserint, custodiantur legionibus terrae, classibus maria, Caesarianus portas miles obsideat: Cato qua exeat habet. Una manu latam libertati viam faciet: ferrum istud, etiam civili bello purum et innoxium, bonas tandem ac nobiles edet operas: libertatem quam patriae non potuit, Catoni dabit. Adgredere, anime, diu meditatam opus, eripe te rebus humanis. 8. Iam Petreius et Iuba concucurrerunt iacentque alter alterius manu caesi: fortis et egregia fati conventio, sed quae non deceat magnitudinem nostram: tam turpe est Catoni mortem ab ullo petere quam vi-

tam. Liquet mihi cum magno spectasse gaudio deos, cum ille vir, acerrimus sui vindex, alienae salutis consulit et instruit discedentium fugam; dum studia etiam nocte ultima tractat, dum gladium sacro pectori infigit, dum viscera spargit et illam sanctissimam animam indignamque quae ferro contaminaretur, manu educit. 9. Inde crediderim fuisse parum certum et efficax volnus: non fuit dis immortalibus satis spectare Catonem semel: retenta ac revocata virtus est, ut in difficiliore parte se ostenderet. Non enim tam magno animo mors incitur quam repetitur. Quidni libenter spectarent alumnus suum tam claro ac memorabili exitu evadentem? mors illos consecrat, quorum exitum et qui timent laudant.

III. Sed iam procedente oratione ostendam, quam non sint quae videntur mala. Nunc illud dico, ista quae tu vocas aspera, quae adversa et abominanda, primum pro ipsis esse quibus accidunt, deinde pro universis, quorum maior dis cura quam singulorum est: post hoc volentibus accidere ac dignos malo esse, si nolint. His adiciam fato ista sic et recte eadem lege bonis evenire qua sunt boni. Persuadebo deinde tibi, ne umquam boni viri miserearis: potest enim miser dici, non potest esse. 2. Difficillimum ex omnibus quae proposui videtur quod primum dixi, pro ipsis esse quibus eveniunt ista, quae horremus ac tremimus. Pro ipsis est, inquis, in exilium proici, in egestatem deduci, liberos, coniugem eferre, ignominia adfici, debilitari? Si miraris haec pro aliquo esse, miraberis quosdam ferro et igne curari nec minus fame ac siti. Sed si cogitaveris tecum, remedii causa quibusdam et radi ossa et legi et extrahi venas et quaedam amputari membra, quae sine totius perniciem corporis haerere non poterant; hoc

quoque patieris probari tibi, quaedam incommoda pro his esse quibus accidunt, tam mehercules quam quaedam quae laudantur atque adpetuntur, contra eos esse quos delectaverunt, simillima cruditatibus ebrietatibusque et ceteris quae necant per voluptatem. 3. Inter multa magnifica Demetrii nostri et haec vox est, a qua recens sum: sonat adhuc et vibrat in auribus meis. *Nihil, inquit, mihi videtur infelicius eo, cui nihil umquam evenit adversi.* Non licuit enim illi se experiri. Ut ex voto illi fluxerint omnia, ut ante votum, male tamen de illo di iudicaverunt: indignus visus est a quo vinceretur aliquando fortuna, quae ignavissimum quemque refugit, quasi dicat: Quid ergo istum mihi adversarium adsumam? statim arma submittet: non opus est in illum tota potentia mea: levi conminatione pelletur: non potest sustinere voltum meum. 4. Alius circumspiciatur cum quo conferre possimus manum: pudet congredi cum homine vinci parato. Ignominiam iudicat gladiator cum inferiore conponi et scit eum sine gloria vinci, qui sine periculo vincitur. Idem facit fortuna; fortissimos sibi pares quaerit, quosdam fastidio transit. Contumacissimum quemque et rectissimum adgreditur, adversus quem vim suam intendat. 5. Ignem experitur in Mucio, paupertatem in Fabricio, exilium in Rutilio, tormenta in Regulo, venenum in Socrate, mortem in Catone. Magnum exemplum nisi mala fortuna non invenit. Infelix est Mucius, quod dextera ignes hostium premit et ipse a se exigit erroris sui poenas? quod regem quem armata manu non potuit, exusta fugat? Quid ergo? felicior esset, si in sinu amicae foveret manum? 6. Infelix est Fabricius, quod rus suum, quantum a republica vacavit, fodit? quod

bellum tam cum Pyrrho quam cum divitiis gerit? quod ad focum coenat illas ipsas radices et herbas, quas in repurgando agro triumphalis senex vulsit? Quid ergo? felicior esset, si in ventrem suum longinqui litoris pisces et peregrina aucupia congereret? si conchyliis superi atque inferi maris pigritiam stomachi nausiantis erigeret? si ingenti pomorum strue cingeret primae formae feras, captas multa caede venantium? 7. Infelix est Rutilius, quod qui illum damnaverunt, causam dicent omnibus seculis? quod aequiore animo passus est se patriae eripi quam sibi exilium? Quod Sullae dictatori solus aliquid negavit et revocatus non tantum retro cessit, sed longius fugit? Viderint, inquit, isti quos Romae deprehendit felicitas tua. Videant largum in foro sanguinem et supra Servilianum lacum (id enim proscriptionis Sullanae spoliarium est) senatorum capita et passim vagantis per urbem percussorum greges et multa milia civium Romanorum uno loco post fidem, immo per ipsam fidem trucidata. Videant ista qui exulare non possunt. 8. Quid ergo? felix est L. Sulla, quod illi descendenti ad forum gladio submovetur, quod capita sibi consularium virorum patitur ostendi et pretium caedis per quaestorem ac tabulas publicas numerat? et haec omnia facit ille, ille qui legem Corneliam tulit. Veniamus ad Regulum: quid illi fortuna nocuit, quod illum documentum fidei, documentum patientiae fecit? Figunt cutem clavi et quocumque fatigatum corpus reclinavit, volneri incumbit, in perpetuam vigiliam suspensa sunt lumina. 9. Quanto plus tormenti tanto plus erit gloriae. Vis scire quam non poeniteat hoc pretio aestimasse virtutem? Refice illum et mitte in senatum: eandem sententiam dicet. Feliciorum ergo tu

Maecenatem putas, cui amoribus anxio et morosae uxoris cotidiana repudia deflenti somnus per symphoniarum cantum ex longinquo lene resonantium quaeritur? Mero se licet sopiat et aquarum fragoribus avocet et mille voluptatibus mentem anxiam fallat; tam vigilabit in pluma quam ille in cruce. Sed illi solatium est pro honesto dura tolerare et ad causam a patientia respicit: hunc voluptatibus marcidum et felicitate nimia laborantem magis his quae patitur, vexat causa patiendi.

10. Non usque eo in possessionem generis humani vitia venerunt, ut dubium sit, an electione fati data plures nasci Reguli quam Maecenates velint. Aut si quis fuerit, qui audeat dicere Maecenatem se quam Regulum nasci maluisse; idem iste, taceat licet, nasci se Terentiam maluit. Male tractatum Socratem iudicas, quod illam potionem publice mixtam non aliter quam medicamentum immortalitatis obduxit et de morte disputavit usque ad ipsam? male cum illo actum est, quod gelatus est sanguis ac paulatim frigore inducto venarum vigor constitit?

11. Quanto magis huic invidendum est quam illis, quibus gemma ministratur, quibus exoletus omnia pati doctus exsectae virilitatis aut dubiae suspensam auro nivem diluit? Hi quicquid biberunt, vomitu remetientur tristes et bilem suam regustantes; at ille venenum laetus et libens hauriet. Quod ad Catonem pertinet, satis dictum est summamque illi felicitatem contigisse consensus hominum fatebitur: quem sibi rerum natura delegit cum quo metuenda collideret.

12. Inimicitiae potentium graves sunt? opponatur simul Pompeio, Caesari, Crasso. Grave est a deterioribus honore anteiri? Vatinio postferatur. Grave est civilibus bellis interesse? toto terrarum orbe

pro causa bona tam infeliciter quam pertinaciter militet. Grave est sibi manus adferre? faciat. Quid per haec consequar? ut omnes sciant non esse haec mala, quibus ego dignum Catonem putavi.

IV. Prospera in plebem ac vilia ingenia deveniunt: at calamitates terroresque mortalium sub iugum mittere proprium magni viri est. Semper vero esse felicem et sine morsu animi transire vitam ignorare est rerum naturae alteram partem. Magnus es vir: sed unde scio, si tibi fortuna non dat facultatem exhibendae virtutis? 2. Descendisti ad Olympia, sed nemo praeter te: coronam habes, victoriam non habes. Non gratulor tamquam viro forti, sed tamquam consulatum praeturamve adepto: honore auctus es. Idem dicere et bono viro possum, si illi nullam occasionem difficilior casus dedit in qua una vim sui animi ostenderet. 3. Miserum te indico, quod numquam fuisti miser: transisti sine adversario vitam. Nemo sciet quid potueris: ne tu quidem ipse. Opus est enim ad notitiam sui experimento: quid quisque posset nisi temptando non didicit. Itaque quidam ipsi ultro se cessantibus malis obtulerunt et virtuti iturae in obscurum occasionem per quam enitesceret quaesierunt. 4. Gaudent, inquam, magni viri aliquando rebus adversis, non aliter quam fortes milites bellis triumphant. Ego murmillonem sub Tiberio Caesare de raritate munerum audiui querentem: *Quam bella*, inquit, *aetas perit!* Avida est periculi virtus et quo tendat, non quid passura sit cogitat: quoniam etiam quod passura est, gloriae pars est. Militares viri gloriantur vulneribus, laeti fluentem meliori casu sanguinem ostentant. Idem licet fecerint qui integri revertuntur ex acie, magis spectatur qui saucius

redit. 5. Ipsi, inquam, deus consulit, quos esse quam honestissimos cupit, quotiens illis materiam praebet aliquid animose fortiterque faciendi; ad quam rem opus est aliqua rerum difficultate. Gubernatorem in tempestate, in acie militem intellegas. Unde possum scire, quantum adversus paupertatem tibi animi sit, si divitiis diffuis? Unde possum scire, quantum adversus ignominiam et infamiam odiumque populare constantiae habeas, si inter plausus senescis? si te inexpugnabilis et inclinatione quadam mentium pronus favor sequitur? 6. Unde scio, quam aequo animo laturus sis orbitatem, si quoscumque sustulisti, vides? Audivi te, cum alios consolareris: tunc conspexissem, si te ipse consolatus esses, si te ipse dolere vetuisses. Nolite, obsecro vos, expavescere ista, quae di immortales velut stimulos admovent animis. Calamitas virtutis occasio est. Illos merito quis dixerit miseros, qui nimia felicitate torpescunt, quos velut in mari lento tranquillitas iners detinet. 7. Quicquid illis inciderit, novum veniet: magis urgent saeva inexpertos: grave est terere cervicibus iugum. Ad suspicionem vulneris tiro pallescit; audacter veteranus cruorem suum spectat, qui scit se saepe vicisse post sanguinem. Hos itaque deus quos probat, quos amat, indurat, recognoscit, exercet: eos autem quibus indulgere videtur, quibus parcere, molles venturis malis servat. Erratis enim, si quem indicatis exceptum: veniet ad illum diu felicem sua portio. 8. Quisquis videtur dimissus esse, dilatus est. Quare deus optimum quemque aut mala validudine aut luctu aut aliis incommodis adficit? Quia in castris quoque periculosa fortissimis imperantur, dux lectissimos mittit qui nocturnis hostes adgrediantur insidiis aut explorent iter aut prae-

sidium loco deiciant. Nemo eorum qui exeunt dicit, Male de me imperator meruit; sed, Bene iudicavit. Idem dicant quicumque iubentur pati timidis ignavisque flebilis; Digni visi sumus deo in quibus experiretur, quantum humana natura posset pati. Fugite delicias, fugite enervatam felicitatem, qua animi perinadescent, nisi aliquid intervenit quod humanae sortis admoneat, velut perpetua ebrietate sopiti. **9.** Quem specularia semper ab adflatu vindicaverunt, cuius pedes inter fomenta subinde mutata tepuerunt, cuius coenationes subditus et parietibus circumfusus calor temperavit, hunc levis aura non sine periculo stringet. Cum omnia quae excesserunt modum noceant, periculosissima felicitatis intemperantia est. Movet cerebrum, in vanas mentes imagines evocat, multum inter falsum ac verum mediae caliginis fundit. **10.** Quidni iis satius sit perpetuam infelicitatem advocata virtute sustinere quam infinitis atque inmodicis bonis rumpi? Lenior ieiunio mors est: cruditate dissiliunt. Hanc itaque rationem di sequuntur in bonis viris, quam in discipulis suis praeceptores; qui plus laboris ab iis exigunt, in quibus certior spes est. Numquid tu invisos esse Lacedaemoniis liberos suos credis, quorum experiuntur indolem publice verberibus admotis? Ipsi illos patres adhortantur, ut ictus flagellorum fortiter perferant et laceros ac semianimes rogant, perseverent volnera praebere vulneribus. **11.** Quid mirum, si dure generosos spiritus deus temptat? numquam virtutis molle documentum est. Verberat nos et lacerat fortuna: patimur: non est saevitia, certamen est: quod si saepius adierimus, fortiores erimus. Solidissima corporis pars est quam frequens usus agitavit. Praebendi fortunae sumus, ut

contra illam ab ipsa duremur. Paulatim nos sibi pares faciat: contemptum periculorum adsiduitas periclitandi dabit. Sic sunt nauticis corpora a ferendo mari dura; agricolis manus tritae; ad excutienda tela militares lacerti valent; agilia sunt membra cursoribus. Id in quoque solidissimum est quod exercuit. 12. Ad contemnendam malorum potentiam animus patientia pervenit: quae quid in nobis efficere possit scies, si adspexeris, quantum nationibus nudis et inopia fortioribus labor praestet. Omnes considera gentes, in quibus Romana pax desinit, Germanos dico et quicquid circa Istrum vagarum gentium occursat. Perpetua illos hiems, triste coelum premit, maligne solum sterile sustentat, imbrem culmo aut fronde defendunt, super durata glacie stagna persultant, in alimentum feras captant. 13. Miseri tibi videntur? nihil miserum est quod in naturam consuetudo perduxit: paulatim enim voluptati sunt quae necessitate coeperunt. Nulla illis domicilia nullaeque sedes sunt, nisi quas lassitudo in diem posuit: vilis et hic quaerendus manu victus, horrenda iniquitas coeli, intacta corpora: hoc quod tibi calamitas videtur, tot gentium vita est. 14. Quid miraris bonos viros, ut confirmentur, concuti? Non est arbor solida nec fortis, nisi in quam frequens ventus incursat: ipsa enim vexatione constringitur et radices certius figit. Fragiles sunt quae in aprica valle creverunt. Pro ipsis ergo bonis viris est, ut esse interriti possint, multum inter formidolosa versari et aequo animo ferre quae non sunt mala nisi male sustinenti.

V. Adice nunc, quod pro omnibus est optimum quemque, ut ita dicam, militare et edere operas. Hoc est propositum deo quod sapienti viro, ostendere haec

quae volgus adpetit, quae reformidat, nec bona esse nec mala: adparebunt autem bona esse, si illa non nisi bonis viris tribuerit, et mala esse, si tantum malis interrogaverit. Detestabilis erit caecitas, si nemo oculos perdiderit, nisi cui eruendi sunt. Itaque careant luce Appius et Metellus. Non sunt divitiae bonum. 2. Itaque habeat illas et Elius leno, ut homines pecuniam, cum in templis consecraverint, videant et in fornice. Nullo modo magis potest deus concupita traducere, quam si illa ad turpissimos defert, ab optimis abigit. At iniquum est virum bonum debilitari aut constringi aut adligari, malos integris corporibus solutos ac delicatos incedere. 3. Quid porro? non est iniquum fortes viros arma sumere et in castris pernoctare et pro vallo obligatis stare vulneribus, interim in urbe securos esse praecisos et professos impudicitiam? Quid porro? non est iniquum nobilissimas virgines ad sacra facienda noctibus excitari, altissimo somno inquinatas frui? Labor optimos citat. Senatus per totum diem saepe consulitur, cum illo tempore vilissimus quisque aut in campo otium suum oblectet aut in popina lateat aut tempus in aliquo circulo terat. Idem in hac magna republica fit: boni viri laborant, inpendunt, inpenduntur et volentes quidem; non trahuntur a fortuna, sequuntur illam et aequant gradus: si scissent, antecessissent. 4. Hanc quoque animosam Demetrii fortissimi viri vocem audisse me memini: *Hoc unum, inquit, de vobis, di immortales, queri possum, quod non ante mihi voluntatem vestram notam fecistis. Prior enim ad ista venissem, ad quae nunc vocatus adsum. Vultis liberos sumere? vobis illos sustuli.*

Vultis aliquam partem corporis? sumite. Non magnam rem promitto: cito totum relinquam. Vultis spiritum? Quidni? nullam moram faciam, quo minus recipiatis quod dedistis: a volente fere-tis quicquid petieritis. Quid ergo est? maluissem offerre quam tradere. Quid opus fuit auferre? accipere potuistis. Sed ne nunc quidem auferetis, quia nihil eripitur nisi retinenti. Nihil cogor, nihil patior invitus nec servio deo, sed adsentior: eo quidem magis, quod scio omnia certa et in aeternum dicta lege decurrere. 5. Fata nos ducunt et quantum cuique temporis restat, prima nascentium hora disposuit. Causa pendet ex causa, privata ac publica longus ordo rerum trahit. Ideo fortiter omne patiendum est, quia non, ut putamus, incidunt cuncta, sed veniunt. Olim constitutum est quid gaudeas, quid fleas; et quamvis magna videatur varietate singulorum vita distingui, summa in unum venit: accipimus peritura perituri. 6. Quid itaque indignamur? quid querimur? ad hoc parati sumus. Utatur ut vult suis natura corporibus: nos laeti ad omnia et fortes cogitemus nihil perire de nostro. Quid est boni viri? prae-bere se fato. Grande solatium est cum universo rapi. Quicquid est quod nos sic vivere, sic mori iussit, eadem necessitate et deos adligat: inrevocabilis humana pariter ac divina cursus vehit. Ille ipse omnium conditor et rector scripsit quidem fata, sed sequitur: semper paret, semel iussit. 7. Quare tamen deus tam iniquus in distributione fati fuit, ut bonis viris paupertatem et volnera et acerba funera adscriberet? Non potest artifex mutare materiam: haec passa est. Quaedam separari a quibusdam non possunt, cohaerent,

individua sunt. Languida ingenia et in somnum itura aut in vigiliam somno simillimam inertibus nectuntur elementis: ut efficiatur vir cum cura dicendus, fortiore fato opus est. Non erit illi planum iter: sursum oportet ac deorsum eat, fluctuetur ac navigium in turbido regat: contra fortunam illi tenendus est cursus. 8. Multa accident dura, aspera, sed quae molliat et conplanet ipse. Ignis aurum probat, miseria fortes viros. Vide quam alte escendere debeat virtus: scies illi non per segura vadendum esse.

*Ardua prima via est et quam vix mane recentes
Enituntur equi: medio est altissima coelo,
Unde mare et terras ipsi mihi saepe videre
Sit timor et pavida trepidet formidine pectus.
Ultima prona via est et eget moderamine certo:
Tunc etiam quae me subiectis excipit undis,
Ne ferar in praeceps, Tethys solet ima vereri.*

9. Haec cum audisset ille generosus adulescens, Placeat, inquit, via: escendo: est tanti per ista ire casuro. Non desinit acrem animum metu territare:

*Utque viam teneas nulloque errore traharis,
Per tamen adversi gradieris cornua tauri
Haemoniosque arcus violentique ora leonis.*

Post haec ait, *Iunge datos currus*: his quibus terreri me putas, incitor: libet illic stare ubi ipse Sol trepidat: humilis et inertis est tuta sectari: per alta virtus it.

VI. Quare tamen bonis viris patitur aliquid mali deus fieri? Ille vero non patitur. Omnia mala ab illis removit, scelera et flagitia et cogitationes impro-

bas et avida consilia et libidinem caecam et alieno imminentem avaritiam : ipsos tuetur ac vindicat. Nunquid hoc quoque aliquis a deo exigit, ut bonorum virorum etiam sarcinas servet? remittunt ipsi hanc deo curam : externa contemnunt. Democritus divitias proiecit onus illas bonae mentis existimans : quid ergo miraris, si id deus bono viro accidere patitur, quod vir bonus aliquando vult sibi accidere?

2. Filios amittunt viri boni : quidni, cum aliquando et occidant? In exilium mittuntur : quidni, cum aliquando ipsi patriam non repetituri relinquunt? Occiduntur : quidni, cum aliquando ipsi sibi manus adferant? Quare quaedam dura patiuntur? ut alios pati doceant : nati sunt in exemplar.

3. Puta itaque deum dicere : Quid habetis quod de me queri possitis vos quibus recta placuerunt? Aliis bona falsa circumdedi et animos inanes velut longo fallacique somnio lusi : auro illos et argento et ebore adornavi : intus boni nihil est. Isti quos pro felicibus adspicitis, si non qua occurrunt, sed qua latent videritis, miseri sunt, sordidi, turpes, ad similitudinem parietum suorum extrinsecus culti. Non est ista solida et sincera felicitas : crusta est et quidem tenuis.

4. Itaque dum illis licet stare et ad arbitrium suum ostendi, nitent et inponunt : cum aliquid incidit quod disturbet ac detegat, tunc adparet quantum altae ac verae foeditatis alienus splendor absconderit. Vobis dedi bona certa, mansura, quanto magis versaverit aliquis et undique inspexerit, meliora maioraque. Permissi vobis metuenda contemnere, cupiditates fastidire : non fulgetis extrinsecus ; bona vestra introrsus obversa sunt. Sic mundus exteriora contempsit spectaculo sui laetus :

intus omne posuit bonum. Non egere felicitate felicitas vestra est. 5. At multa incidunt tristia, horrenda, dura toleratu. Quia non poteram vos istis subducere, animos vestros adversus omnia armavi. Ferte fortiter: hoc est quo deum antecedatis: ille extra patientiam malorum est, vos supra patientiam. Contemnite paupertatem: nemo tam pauper vivit quam natus est. Contemnite dolorem: aut solvetur aut solvet. Contemnite mortem: quae vos aut finit aut transfert. Contemnite fortunam: nullum illi telum quo feriret animum, dedi. 6. Ante omnia cavi, ne quis vos teneret invitos: patet exitus. Si pugnare non vultis, licet fugere. Ideo ex omnibus rebus quas esse vobis necessarias volui, nihil feci facilius quam mori. Prono animam loco posui; trahitur. Adtendite modo et videbitis quam brevis ad libertatem et quam expedita ducat via. Non tam longas in exitu vobis quam intransibilibus moras posui: alioquin magnum in vos regnum fortuna tenuisset, si homo tam tarde moreretur quam nascitur. 7. Omne tempus, omnis vos locus doceat, quam facile sit renuntiare naturae et munus illi suum impingere. Inter ipsa altaria et sollemnes sacrificantium ritus, dum optatur vita, mortem condiscite. Corpora opima taurorum exiguo concidunt vulnere et magnarum virium animalia humanae manus ictus inpellit: tenui ferro commissura cervicis abruuntur, et cum articulus ille qui caput collumque committit incisus est, tanta illa moles corrui. 8. Non in alto latet spiritus nec utique ferro eruendus est: non sunt vulnere penitus impresso scrutanda praeordia: in proximo mors est. Non certum ad hos ictus aestimavi locum; qua-

cumque via pervium est. Ipsum illud quod vocatur mori, quo anima discedit a corpore, brevius est, quam ut sentiri tanta velocitas possit. Sive fauces nodus elisit, sive spiramentum aqua praecludit, sive in caput lapsos subiacentis soli duritia conminuit, sive haustus ignis cursum animae remeantis interscidit: quicquid est, properat. Ecquid erubescitis? quod tam cito fit, timetis diu?



Genius of the Roman People. From a coin of Antoninus Pius, in the British Museum.

L. ANNAEI SENECAE

AD SERENUM

DE TRANQUILLITATE ANIMI

LIBER UNUS.

In ipsa eloquentia, Seneca, duae tuae virtutes eximiae; copia in brevitate, vehementia in facilitate. De copia, bonus iudex et sagax statim agnoscit, et Fabius (Quintil.) ut peculiarem virtutem etiam alibi adsignat. . . . At de vehementia ego eius miror: et est tota oratio fere accincta, intenta, et robur in ea et acrimonia, qua vel ad Demosthenem se iactet. . . . Iudica sic, bone Lector, et bono tuo Senecam ama.

LIPSIUS.

AD SERENUM

DE TRANQUILLITATE ANIMI.

I. INQUIRENTI mihi in me quaedam vitia adparebant, Seneca, in aperto posita quae manu prenderem, quaedam obscuriora et in recessu, quaedam non continua, sed ex intervallis redeuntia; quae vel molestissima dixerim, ut hostes vagos et ex occasionibus adsilientes, per quos neutrum licet, nec tamquam in bello paratum esse nec tamquam in pace securum. Illum tamen habitum in me maxime deprendo (quare enim non verum ut medico fatear?) nec bona fide liberatum eis, quae timebam et oderam, nec rursus obnoxium. 2. In statu ut non pessimo, ita maxime querulo et moroso positus sum: nec aegroto nec valeo. Non est, quod dicas omnium virtutum tenera esse principia, tempore illis duramentum et robur accedere. Non ignoro etiam quae in speciem laborant, dignitatem dico et eloquentiae famam et quicquid ad alienum suffragium venit, mora convalescere: et quae veras vires parant et quae ad placendum fuco quodam subornantur, exspectant annos, donec paulatim colorem diuturnitas ducat: sed ego vereor, ne consuetudo, quae rebus adfert constantiam, hoc vitium mihi altius figat. 3. Tam malorum quam bo-

norum longa conversatio amorem induit. Haec animi inter utrumque dubii nec ad recta fortiter nec ad prava vergentis infirmitas qualis sit, non tam semel tibi possum quam per partes ostendere. Dicam quae accidant mihi: tu morbo nomen invenies. Tenet me summus amor parsimoniae, fateor: placet non in ambitionem cubile conpositum, non ex arcula prolata vestis, non ponderibus ac mille tormentis splendere cogentibus expressa, sed domestica et vilis, nec servata nec sumenda sollicite. 4. Placet cibus, quem nec parent familiae nec spectent, non ante multos imperatus dies nec multorum manibus ministratus, sed parabilis facilisque, nihil habens arcessiti pretiosive, ubilibet non defuturus, nec patrimonio nec corpori gravis, non rediturus qua intraverit. Placet minister incultus et rudis vernula, argentum grave rustici patris sine ullo nomine artificis, et mensa non varietate macularum conspicua nec per multas dominorum elegantium successiones civitati nota, sed in usum posita, quae nullius convivae oculos nec voluptate moretur nec accendat invidia. 5. Cum bene ista placuerunt, praestringit animum adparatus alicuius paedagogii, diligentius quam in tralatu vestita et auro culta mancipia et agmen servorum nitentium: iam domus etiam qua calcatur pretiosa et divitiis per omnes angulos dissipatis, tecta ipsa fulgentia et adsectator comesque patrimoniorum pereuntium populus. Quid perlucetis ad inum aquas et circumfluentes ipsa convivia, quid epulas loquar scena sua dignas? 6. Circumfudit me ex longo frugalitatis situ venientem multo splendore luxuria et undique circumsonuit. Paulum titubat acies: facilius adversus illam

animum quam oculos adtollo. Recedo itaque non peior, sed tristior; nec inter illa frivola mea tam altus incedo tacitusque morsus subit et dubitatio, numquid illa meliora sint: nihil horum me mutat, nihil tamen non concutit. Placet vim praeceptorum sequi et in mediam ire rempublicam: placet honores fascesque non scilicet purpura aut virgis adductum capessere, sed ut amicis propinquisque et omnibus civibus, omnibus deinde mortalibus paratior utiliorque sim. 7. Promptus, compositus sequor Zenona, Cleanthen, Chrysippum; quorum tamen nemo ad rempublicam accessit et nemo non misit. Ubi aliquid animam insolitam arietari percussit, ubi aliquid occurrit aut indignum, ut in omni vita humana multa sunt, aut parum ex facili fluens, aut multum temporis res non magno aestimandae poposcerunt, ad otium convertor et quemadmodum pecoribus fatigatis quoque velocior domum gradus est, placet intra parietes suos vitam coercere. 8. Nemo ullum auferat diem nihil dignum tanto impendio redditurus: sibi ipse animus haereat, se colat, nihil alieni agat, nihil quod ad iudicem spectet: ametur expers publicae privataeque curae tranquillitas. Sed ubi lectio fortior erexit animum et aculeos subdiderunt exempla nobilia, prosilire libet in forum, commodare alteri vocem, alteri operam, etiam si nihil profuturam, tamen conaturam prodesse, alicuius coercere in foro superbiam male secundis rebus elati. 9. In studiis puto mehercules melius esse res ipsas intueri et harum causa loqui, ceterum verba rebus permittere, ut qua duxerint hac inelaborata sequatur oratio. Quid opus est seculis duratura componere? Vis tu non id agere, ne te posterì taceant?

morti natus es: minus molestiarum habet funus tacitum: itaque occupandi temporis causa, in usum tuum, non in praeconium aliquid simplici stilo scribe: minore labore opus est studentibus in diem. 10. Rursus ubi se animus cogitationum magnitudine levavit, ambitiosus in verba est altiusque ut sperare ita eloqui gestit et ad dignitatem rerum exit oratio: oblitus tum legis pressiorisque iudicii sublimius feror et ore iam non meo. Ne singula diutius persequar, in omnibus rebus haec me sequitur bonae mentis infirmitas: cui ne paulatim defluam vereor, aut quod est sollicitius, ne semper casuro similis pendeam et plus fortasse sit quam quod ipse pervideo. Familiariter enim domestica adspicimus et semper iudicio favor officit. 11. Puto multos potuisse ad sapientiam pervenire, nisi putassent se pervenisse, nisi quaedam in se dissimulassent, quaedam opertis oculis transsiluissent. Non est enim, quod magis aliena iudices adulatione nos perire quam nostra. Quis sibi verum dicere ausus est? quis non inter laudantium blandientiumque positus greges plurimum tamen sibi ipse adsentatus est? 12. Rogo itaque, si quod habes remedium quo hanc fluctuationem meam sistas, dignum me putes, qui tibi tranquillitatem debeam. Non esse periculosos motus animi nec quicquam tumultuosi adferentis scio: ut vera tibi similitudine id, de quo queror, exprimam, non tempestate vexor, sed nausea. Detrahe ergo, quicquid hoc est mali, et succurre in conspectu terrarum laboranti.

II. Quaero mehercules iam dudum, Serene, ipse tacitus, cui talem adfectum animi similem putem; nec ulli propius adnoverim exemplo quam eorum, qui ex

longa et gravi valitudine expliciti motiunculis levisque interim offensis perstringuntur et, cum reliquias effugerunt, suspicionibus tamen inquietantur medicisque iam sani manum porrigunt et omnem calorem corporis sui calumniantur. Horum, Serene, non parum sanum est corpus, sed sanitati parum ad-suevit: sicut est quidam tremor etiam tranquilli maris, utque lacus, cum ex tempestate requievit. 2. Opus est itaque non illis durioribus, quae etiam transcucurrimus, ut alicubi obstes tibi, alicubi irascaris, alicubi instes gravis: sed illud, quod ultimum venit, ut fidem tibi habeas et recta ire te via credas, nihil avocatus transversis multorum vestigiis passim discurrentium, quorundam circa ipsam errantium viam. 3. Quod desideras autem, magnum et summum est deoque vicinum, non concuti. Hanc stabilem animi sedem Graeci εὐθυμίαν vocant, de qua Democriti volumen egregium est: ego *tranquillitatem* voco: nec enim imitari et transferre verba ad illorum formam necesse est: res ipsa, de qua agitur, aliquo signanda nomine est, quod adpellationis Graecae vim debet habere, non faciem. 4. Ergo quaerimus, quomodo animus semper aequalis secundoque cursu eat propitiusque sibi sit et sua laetus adspiciat et hoc gaudium non interrumpat, sed placido statu maneat nec adtollens se umquam nec deprimens. Id *tranquillitas* erit. Quomodo ad hanc perveniri possit, in universum quaeramus: sumes tu ex publico remedio quantum voles. Totum interim vitium in medium protrahendum est; ex quo agnoscet quisque partem suam: simul tu intelleges, quanto minus negotii habeas cum fastidio tui quam hi, quos ad professionem speciosam adliga-

tos et sub ingenti titulo laborantis in sua simulatione pudor magis quam voluntas tenet. 5. Omnes in eadem causa sunt, et hi qui levitate vexantur ac taedio adsiduaque mutatione propositi, quibus semper magis placet quod reliquerunt, et illi, qui marcent et oscitantur. Adice eos, qui non aliter quam quibus difficilis somnus est, versant se et hoc atque illo modo componunt, donec quietem lassitudine inveniant: statum vitae suae formando subinde in eo novissime manent, in quo illos non mutandi odium, sed senectus ad novandum pigra deprendit. Adice et illos, qui non inconstantiae vitio parum leves sunt, sed inertiae. Vivunt non quomodo volunt, sed quomodo coeperunt. Innumerabiles deinceps proprietates sunt, sed unus effectus vitii, sibi displicere. 6. Hoc oritur ab intemperie animi et cupiditatibus timidis aut parum prosperis; ubi aut non audent, quantum concupiscunt, aut non consequuntur et in spem toti prominent, semper instabiles mobilesque sunt, quod necesse est accidere pendentibus ad vota sua: omni vita pendent et inhonesta se ac difficilia docent coguntque; et ubi sine praemio labor est, torquet illos inritum dedecus, nec dolent prava, sed frustra voluisse. 7. Tunc illos et poenitentia coepti tenet et incipiendi timor subrepitque illa animi iactatio non inventientis exitum, quia nec imperare cupiditatibus suis nec obsequi possunt, et cunctatio vitae parum se explicantis et inter destituta vota torpentis animi situs. Quae omnia graviora sunt, ubi odio infelicitatis operosae ad otium perfugerunt et ad secreta studia, quae pati non potest animus ad civilia erectus agendique cupidus et natura inquietus, parum silicet in se solatiorum habens: ideo

detractis oblectationibus, quas ipsae occupationes discurrentibus praebent, domum, solitudinem, parietes non fert, invitus adspicit se sibi relictum. 8. Hinc illud est taedium et displicentia sui et nusquam residentis animi volutatio et otii sui tristis atque aegra patientia; utique ubi causas fateri pudet et tormenta introrsus egit verecundia, in angusto inclusae cupiditates sine exitu se ipsae strangulant. Inde moeror marcorque et mille fluctus mentis incertae, quam spes inchoatae habent suspensam, deploratam, tristem: inde ille adfectus otium suum detestantium querentiumque nihil ipsos habere quod agant, et alienis incrementis inimicissima invidia. 9. Alit enim livorem infelix inertia et omnes destrui cupiunt, quia se non potuere provehere: ex hac deinde aversatione alienorum processuum et suorum desperatione obirascens fortunae animus et de seculo querens et in angulos se retrahens et poenae incubans suae, dum illum taedet sui pigetque. Natura enim humanus animus agilis est et pronus ad motus: grata omnis illi excitandi se abstrahendique materia est, gratior pessimis quibusque ingeniis, quae occupationibus libenter deteruntur. 10. Ut ulcera quaedam nocituras manus adpetunt et tactu gaudent et foedam corporum scabiem delectat quicquid exasperat: non aliter dixerim his mentibus, in quas cupiditates velut mala ulcera eruperunt, voluptati esse laborem vexationemque. Sunt enim quaedam, quae corpus quoque nostrum cum quodam dolore delectent, ut versare se et mutare nondum fessum latus, et alio atque alio positu ventilari. 11. Qualis ille Homericus Achilles est, modo pronus, modo supinus, in varios habitus se ipse componens, quod proprium

aegri est, nihil diu pati et mutationibus ut remediis uti. Inde peregrinationes suscipiuntur vagae et litora pererrantur et modo mari se, modo terra experitur semper praesentibus infesta levitas. Nunc Campaniam petamus: iam delicata fastidio sunt: inculta videantur. Bruttios et Lucaniae saltus persequamur: aliquid tamen inter deserta amoeni requiratur, in quo luxuriosi oculi longo locorum horrentium squalore releventur. **12.** Tarentum petatur laudatusque portus et hiberna coeli mitioris, regio vel antiquae satis opulenta turbae. Iam flectamus cursum ad urbem: nimis diu a plausu et fragore aures vacaverunt; iuvat iam et humano sanguine frui. Aliud ex alio iter suscipitur et spectacula spectaculis mutantur, ut ait Lucretius,

Hoc se quisque modo semper fugit.

13. Sed quid prodest, si non effugit? sequitur se ipse et urget gravissimus comes. Itaque scire debemus non locorum vitium esse quo laboramus, sed nostrum. Infirmi sumus ad omne tolerandum, nec laboris patientes nec voluptatis, nec nostrae nec ullius rei diutius. Hoc quosdam egit ad mortem, quod proposita saepe mutando in eadem revolvebantur et non reliquerant novitati locum. Fastidio esse illis coepit vita et ipse mundus; et subit illud rabidarum deliciarum, *Quousque eadem?*

III. Adversus hoc taedium quo auxilio putem utendum quaeris. Optimum erat, ut ait Athenodorus, actione rerum et reipublicae tractatione et officiis civilibus se definere: nam ut quidam sole atque exercitatione et cura corporis diem ducunt athleticque longe

utilissimum est lacertos suos roburque, cui se uni dicaverunt, maiore temporis parte nutrire: ita nobis animum ad rerum civilium certamen parantibus in opere esse non longe pulcherrimum est? nam cum utilem se efficere civibus mortalibusque propositum habeat, simul et exercetur et proficit, qui in mediis se officiis posuit communia privataque pro facultate administrans. 2. Sed quia in hac, inquit, tam insana hominum ambitione tot calumniatoribus in deterius recta torquentibus parum tuta simplicitas est et plus futurum semper est, quod obstet quam quod succedat, a foro quidem et publico recedendum est; sed habet, ubi se etiam in privato laxè explicet magnus animus: nec ut leonum animaliumque impetus caveis coercetur, sic hominum, quorum maxime in seducto actiones sunt. 3. Ita tamen delituerit, ut ubicumque otium suum absconderit, prodesse velit singulis universisque ingenio, voce, consilio. Nec enim is solus reipublicae prodest, qui candidatos extrahit et tuetur reos et de pace belloque censet, sed qui iuventutem exhortatur, qui in tanta bonorum praeceptorum inopia virtute instituit animos, qui ad pecuniam luxuriamque cursu ruentis prensat ac retrahit et, si nihil aliud, certe moratur, in privato publicum negotium agit. 4. An ille plus praestat, qui inter peregrinos et cives aut urbanus praetor adeuntibus adsectoris verba pronuntiat, quam qui quid sit iustitia, quid pietas, quid patientia, quid fortitudo, quid mortis contemptus, quid deorum intellectus, quam gratuitum bonum sit bona conscientia? Ergo si tempus in studia conferas, quod subduxeris officiis, non deserueris nec munus detrectaveris. 5. Neque enim ille solus militat, qui in acie stat et cornu dextrum laevumque defendit, sed qui

portas tuetur et statione minus periculosa, non otiosa tamen fungitur vigiliasque servat et armamentario praeest: quae ministeria quamvis incruenta sint, in numerum stipendiorum veniunt. Si te ad studia revocaveris, omne vitae fastidium effugeris nec noctem fieri optabis taedio lucis, nec tibi gravis eris nec aliis supervacuum: multos in amicitiam adtrahes adfluetque ad te optimus quisque. 6. Numquam enim quamvis obscura virtus latet, sed mittit sui signa: quisquis dignus fuerit, vestigiis illam colliget. Nam si omnem conversationem tollimus et generi humano renuntiamus vivimusque in nos tantum conversi, sequetur hanc solitudinem omni studio carentem inopia rerum agendarum. Incipiemus aedificia alia ponere, alia subvertere et mare submovere et aquas contra difficultatem locorum educere et male dispensare tempus, quod nobis natura consumendum dedit. 7. Alii parce illo utimur, alii prodige: alii sic inpendimus, ut possimus rationem reddere, alii, ut nullas habeamus reliquias; qua re nihil turpius est. Saepe grandis natu senex nullum aliud habet argumentum, quo se probet diu vixisse, praeter aetatem. Mihi, carissime Serene, nimis videtur submisisse temporibus se Athenodorus, nimis cito refugisse. Ne ego negaverim aliquando cedendum; sed sensim relato gradu et salvis signis, salva militari dignitate. Sanctiores tutioresque sunt hostibus suis, qui in fidem cum armis veniunt. 8. Hoc puto virtuti faciendum studiosoque virtutis. Si praevalebit fortuna et praecidet agendi facultatem, non statim aversus inermisque fugiat latebras quaerens, quasi ullus locus sit in quo non possit fortuna persequi, sed parcius se inferat officiis et cum delectu inveniatur aliquid, in quo utilis civitati sit. Militare non

licet? honores spectet: privato vivendum est? sit orator: silentium indictum est? tacita advocazione cives iuvet: periculosum etiam ingressu forum est? in domibus, in spectaculis, in conviviis bonum contubernalem, fidelem amicum, temperantem convivam agat. 9. Officia si civis amiserit, hominis exerceat. Ideo magno animo nos non unius urbis moenibus clusimus, sed in totius orbis commercium emisimus patriamque nobis mundum professi sumus, ut liceret latiore virtuti campum dare. Praeclusum tibi tribunal est et rostris proliberis aut comitiis? respice post te quantum latissimarum regionum pateat, quantum populorum: numquam ita tibi magna pars obstruetur, ut non maior relinquatur. 10. Sed vide, ne totum istud tuum vitium sit: non vis enim nisi consul aut prytanis aut ceryx aut sufes administrare rempublicam. Quid si militare nolis nisi imperator aut tribunus? etiam si alii primam frontem tenebunt, te sors inter triarios posuerit; inde voce, adhortatione, exemplo, animo milita. Praecisis quoque manibus ille in proelio invenit, quod partibus conferat, qui stat tamen et clamore iuvat. Tale quiddam facias: si a prima te reipublicae parte fortuna submoverit, stes tamen et clamore iuves et, si quis fauces oppresserit, stes tamen et silentio iuves. 11. Numquam inutilis est opera civis boni: auditus eius visusque voltu, nutu, obstinatione tacita incessuque ipso prodest. Ut salutaria, quae citra gustum tactumque odore proficiunt, ita virtus utilitatem etiam ex longinquo et latens fundit, sive spatiatur et se utitur suo iure, sive precarios habet excessus cogiturque vela contrahere, sive otiosa mutaue est et angusto circumsepta, sive adaperta: in quocumque habitu est, prodest. Quid? tu parum utile putas exemplum

bene quiescentis? 12. Longe itaque optimum est miscere otium rebus, quotiens actiuosa vita inpedimentis fortuitis aut civitatis condicione prohibetur. Numquam enim usque eo interclusa sunt omnia, ut nulli actioni locus honestae sit. Numquid potes invenire urbem miseriorem quam Atheniensium fuit, cum illam triginta tyranni divellerent? mille trecentos cives, optimum quemque occiderant nec finem ideo faciebant, sed inritabat se ipsa saevitia. 13. In qua civitate erat Areos pagos, religiosissimum iudicium, in qua senatus populusque senatu similis coibat cotidie carnificum triste collegium et infelix curia tyrannis angusta. Poteratne illa civitas conquiescere, in qua tot tyranni erant quot satellites essent? Ne spes quidem ulla recipiendae libertatis animis poterat offerri; nec ulli remedio locus adparebat contra tantam vim malorum: unde enim miserae civitati tot Harmodios? 14. Socrates tamen in medio erat et lugentes patres consolabatur et desperantes de republica exhortabatur et divitibus opes suas metuentibus exprobrabat seram periculosae avaritiae poenitentiam et imitari volentibus magnum circumferebat exemplar, cum inter triginta dominos liber incederet. Hunc tamen Athenae ipsae in carcere occiderunt; et qui tuto insultaverat agmini tyrannorum eius libertatem libertas non tulit: ut scias et in adflicta republica esse occasionem sapienti viro ad se proferendum et in florenti ac beata pecuniam, invidiam, mille alia inermia vitia regnare. 15. Utcumque ergo se respública dabit, utcumque fortuna permittet, ita aut explicabimus nos aut contrahemus: utique movebimus nec adligati metu torpebimus. Immo ille vir fuerit, qui periculis undique imminentibus,

armis circa et catenis frementibus non adliserit virtutem nec absconderit. Non est enim servare se obruere.

16. Ut opinor, Curius Dentatus aiebat, *Malle esse se mortuum quam vivere*. Ultimum malorum est vivorum numero exire, antequam moriaris. Sed faciendum erit, si in reipublicae tempus minus tractabile incideris, ut plus otio ac literis vindices: nec aliter quam in periculosa navigatione subinde portum petas nec exspectes, donec res te dimittant, sed ab illis te ipse diiungas.

IV. Inspicere autem debemus primum nosmetipsos, deinde ea quae adgrediemur negotia, deinde eos quorum causa aut cum quibus. Ante omnia necesse est se ipsum aestimare, quia fere plus nobis videmur posse quam possumus. Alius eloquentiae fiducia prolabitur; alius patrimonio suo plus imperavit quam ferre posset; alius infirmum corpus laborioso pressit officio. 2. Quorundam parum idonea est verecundia rebus civilibus, quae primam frontem desiderant: quorundam contumacia non facit ad aulam: quidam non habent iram in potestate et illos ad temeraria verba quaelibet indignatio offert: quidam urbanitatem nesciunt continere nec periculosus abstinent salibus. Omnibus his utilior negotio quies est: ferox inpatiensque natura inritamenta nociturae libertatis evitet.

V. Aestimanda sunt deinde ipsa, quae adgredimur, et vires nostrae cum rebus, quas temptaturi sumus, comparandae. Debet enim semper plus esse virium in actore quam in onere: necesse est opprimant onera, quae ferente maiora sunt. 2. Quaedam praeterea non tam magna sunt negotia quam fecunda multumque negotiorum ferunt: et haec refugienda sunt, ex quibus nova

occupatio multiplexque nascetur. Nec accedendum eo, unde liber regressus non sit: iis admovenda manus est, quorum finem aut facere aut certe sperare possis: relinquenda, quae latius actu procedunt nec ubi proposueris desinunt.

VI. Hominum utique delectus habendus est: an digni sint quibus partem vitae nostrae inpendamus, an ad illos temporis nostri iactura perveniat. Quidam enim ultro officia nobis nostra inputant. Athenodorus ait, *ne ad coenam quidem se iturum ad eum, qui sibi nil pro hoc debiturus sit.* Puto intellegis multo minus ad eos iturum, qui cum amicorum officiis paria mensa faciunt, qui fericula pro congiariis numerant, quasi in alienum honorem intemperantes sint. 2. Deme illis testes spectatoresque, non delectabit popina secreta. Considerandum est, utrum natura tua agendis rebus an otioso studio contemplationique aptior sit, et eo inclinandum quo te vis ingenii feret. Isocrates Ephorum iniecta manu a foro subduxit utiliorem componendis monumentis historiarum ratus. Male enim respondent coacta ingenia: reluctantem naturam inritus labor est.

VII. Nihil tamen aequè oblectaverit animum quam amicitia fidelis et dulcis. Quantum bonum est, ubi sunt praeparata pectora, in quae tuto secretum omne descendat, quorum conscientiam minus quam tuam timeas, quorum sermo sollicitudinem leniat, sententia consilium expediat, hilaritas tristitiam dissipet, conspectus ipse delectet? Quos scilicet vacuos, quantum fieri poterit, a cupiditatibus eligemus. 2. Serpunt enim vitia et in proximum quemque transsiliunt et contactu nocent. Itaque, ut in pestilentia curandum est, ne correptis iam corporibus et morbo flagrantibus adsi-

deamus, quia pericula trahemus adflatuque ipso laborabimus: ita in amicorum legendis ingeniis dabimus operam, ut quam minime inquinatos adsumamus. Initium morbi est aegris sana miscere. Nec hoc praeceperim tibi, ut neminem nisi sapientem sequaris aut adtrahas: ubi enim istum invenies, quem tot seculis quaerimus? pro optimo est minime malus. **3.** Vix tibi esset facultas delectus felicioris, si inter Platonas et Xenophontas et illum Socratici fetus proventum bonos quaereres, aut si tibi potestas Catonianae fieret aetatis, quae plerisque dignos tulit, qui Catonis seculo nascerentur, sicut multos peiores quam umquam alias maximorumque molitores scelerum. Utraque enim turba opus erat, ut Cato posset intellegi: habere debuit et bonos, quibus se adprobaret, et malos, in quibus vim suam experiretur. **4.** Nunc vero in tanta bonorum egestate minus fastidiosa fiat electio: praecipue tamen vitentur tristes et omnia deplorantes, quibus nulla non causa in querelas placet. Constet illi licet fides et benevolentia; tranquillitati tamen inimicus est comes perturbatus et omnia gemens.

VIII. Transeamus ad patrimonia, maximam humanarum aerumnarum materiam. Nam si omnia alia, quibus angimur, compares, mortes, aegrotationes, metus, desideria, dolorum laborumque patientiam, cum iis quae nobis mala pecunia nostra exhibet, haec pars multum praegravabit. Itaque cogitandum est, quanto levior dolor sit non habere quam perdere: et intellegemus paupertati eo minorem tormentorum quo minorem damnorum esse materiam. **2.** Erras enim, si putas animosius detrimenta divites ferre: maximis minimisque corporibus par est dolor vulneris. Bion eleganter

ait *non minus molestum esse calvis quam comatis pilos velli*. Idem scias licet de pauperibus locupletibusque, par illis esse tormentum: utrisque enim pecunia sua obhaesit nec sine sensu revelli potest. Tolerabilius autem est, ut dixi, faciliusque non acquirere quam amittere; ideoque laetiores videbis quos numquam fortuna respexit, quam quos deseruit. **3.** Vidit hoc Diogenes, vir ingentis animi, et effecit, ne quid sibi eripi posset. Tu istud paupertatem, inopiam, egestatem voca, quod voles ignominiosum securitati nomen inpone: putabo hunc non esse felicem, si quem mihi alium inveneris, cui nihil pereat. Aut ego fallor, aut regnum est inter avaros, circumscriptores, latrones, plagiarios unum esse, cui noceri non possit. Si quis de felicitate Diogenis dubitat, potest idem dubitare et de deorum immortalium statu, an parum beate degant, quod illis nec praedia nec horti sint nec alieno colono rura pretiosa nec grande in foro fenus. **4.** Non te pudet, quisquis divitiis adstupes? respice agedum mundum: nudos videbis deos, omnia dantes, nihil habentes. Hunc tu pauperem putas an dis immortalibus similem, qui se fortuitis omnibus exuit? Feliciorem tu Demetrium Pompeianum vocas, quem non puduit locupletiores esse Pompeio? Numerus illi cotidie servorum velut imperatori exercitus referebatur, cui iam dudum divitiae esse debuerant duo vicarii et cella laxior. **5.** At Diogeni servus unicus fugit nec eum reducere, cum monstraretur, tanti putavit. *Turpe est, inquit, Manen sine Diogene posse vivere, Diogenem sine Mane non posse.* Videtur mihi dixisse: age tuum negotium, fortuna: nihil apud Diogenem iam tui est. Fugit mihi servus? immo liber abiit. Familia petit vestiarium

victumque: tot ventres avidissimorum animalium tuendi sunt: emenda vestis et custodiendae rapacissimae manus et flentium detestantiumque ministeriis utendum. 6. Quanto ille felicior, qui nihil ulli debet, nisi quod facillime negat sibi? Sed quoniam non est nobis tantum roboris, angustanda certe sunt patrimonialia, ut minus ad iniurias fortunae simus expositi. Habiliora sunt corpora in bello, quae in arma sua contrahi possunt, quam quae superfunduntur et undique magnitudo sua volneribus obiecit. Optimus pecuniae modus est, qui nec in paupertatem cadit, nec procul a paupertate discedit.

IX. Placebit autem haec nobis mensura, si prius parsimonia placuerit, sine qua nec ullae opes sufficiunt, nec ullae non satis patent, praesertim cum in vicino remedium sit et possit ipsa paupertas in divitias se advocata frugalitate convertere. Adsuescamus a nobis remove pompam, et usus rerum, non ornamenta metiri. Cibus famem domet, potio sitim, libido qua necesse est fluat. Discamus membris nostris inniti, cultum victumque non ad nova exempla componere, sed ut maiorum mores suadent. 2. Discamus continentiam augere, luxuriam coercere, gulam temperare, iracundiam lenire, paupertatem aequis oculis adspicere, frugalitatem colere, etiam si similes nos pudebit esse populo, desideriis naturalibus parvo parata remedia adhibere, spes effrenatas et animum in futura eminentem velut sub vinculis habere, id agere, ut divitias a nobis potius quam a fortuna petamus. Non potest unquam tanta varietas et iniquitas casuum ita depelli, ut non multum procellarum inruat magna armamenta pendentibus: cogendae in artum

res sunt, ut tela in vanum cadant. 3. Ideoque exilia interdum calamitatesque in remedium cessere et levioribus incommodis graviora sanata sunt, ubi parum audit praecepta animus nec curari mollius potest. Quidni consulitur, si et paupertas et ignominia et rerum eversio adhibetur? malo malum opponitur. Adsuescamus ergo coenare posse sine populo et servis paucioribus servire et vestes parare in quod inventae sunt, habitare contractius. Non in cursu tantum circique certamine, sed in his spatiis vitae interiorius flectendum est. 4. Studiorum quoque quae liberalissima inpensa est, tamdiu rationem habet, quamdiu modum. Quo innumerabiles libros et bibliothecas, quarum dominus vix tota vita indices perlegit? Onerat discentem turba, non instruit; multoque satius est paucis te auctoribus tradere, quam errare per multos. Quadraginta milia librorum Alexandriae arserunt, pulcherrimum regiae opulentiae monumentum: alius laudaverit, sicut et Livius, qui *elegantiae regum curaeque egregium id opus ait fuisse*. 5. Non fuit elegantia illud aut cura, sed studiosa luxuria; immo ne studiosa quidem, quoniam non in studium, sed in spectaculum comparaverant, sicut plerisque ignavis etiam servilium literarum libri non studiorum instrumenta, sed coenationum ornamenta sunt. Pareatur itaque librorum quantum satis sit, nihil in apparatus. 6. Honestius, inquis, hocce inpensae quam in Corinthia pictasque tabulas effuderint. Vitiosum est ubique, quod nimium est. Quid habes, cur ignoscas homini armaria citro atque ebore captanti, corpora conquirenti aut ignotorum auctorum aut improbatorum et inter tot milia librorum oscitanti,

cui voluminum suorum frontes maxime placent tituli-
que? 7. Apud desidiosissimos ergo videbis quicquid
orationum historiarumque est, tecto tenus exstructa
loculamenta: iam enim inter balnearia et thermas
bibliotheca quoque ut necessarium domus ornamen-
tum expolitur. Ignoscerem plane, si studiorum ni-
mia cupidine oriretur: nunc ista conquisita, cum ima-
ginibus suis descripta et sacrorum opera ingeniorum
in speciem et cultum parietum comparantur.

X. At ad aliquod genus vitae difficile incidisti et
tibi ignorantia vel publica fortuna vel privata laque-
um inpegit, quem nec solvere posses nec erumpere.
Cogita conpeditos primo aegre ferre onera et inpedi-
menta crurum: deinde ubi non indignari illa, sed
pati proposuerunt, necessitas fortiter ferre docet, con-
suetudo facile. Invenies in quolibet genere vitae ob-
lectamenta et remissiones et voluptates, si nolueris,
malam putare vitam potius quam invidiosam facere.
2. Nullo melius nomine de nobis natura meruit, quam
quod, cum sciret quibus aerumnis nasceremur, calami-
tatum mollimentum consuetudinem invenit, cito in
familiaritatem gravissima adducens. Nemo duraret,
si rerum adversarum eandem vim adsiduitas haberet
quam primus ictus. Omnes cum fortuna copulati
sumus: aliorum aurea catena est, aliorum laxa, ali-
orum arta et sordida. 3. Sed quid refert? eadem
custodia universos circumdedit adligatique sunt etiam
qui adligaverunt; nisi forte tu leviolem in sinistra
catenam putas. Alium honores, alium opes vinciunt:
quosdam nobilitas, quosdam humilitas premit: quibus-
dam aliena supra caput imperia sunt, quibusdam sua:
quosdam exilia uno loco tenent, quosdam sacerdotia.

Omnis vita servitium est. 4. Adsuescendum est itaque conditioni suae et quam minimum de illa querendum et quicquid habet circa se commodi, adprendendum. Nihil tam acerbum est, in quo non aequus animus solatium inveniatur. Exiguæ saepe areae in multos usus describentis arte patuerunt et quamvis angustum pedem dispositio fecit habitabilem. Adhibe rationem difficultatibus: possunt et dura moliri et angusta laxari et gravia scite ferentis minus premere. 5. Non sunt praeterea cupiditates in longinquum mittendae, sed in vicinum illis egredi permittamus, quoniam includi ex toto non patiuntur. Relictis his, quae aut non possunt fieri aut difficulter possunt, prope posita speique nostrae adludentia sequamur; sed sciamus omnia aequè levia esse, extrinsecus diversas facies habentia, introrsus pariter vana. Nec invidemus altius stantibus: quae excelsa videbantur, praerupta sunt. 6. Illi rursus, quos sors iniqua in ancipiti posuit, tutiores erunt superbiam detrahendo rebus per se superbis et fortunam suam, quam maxime poterunt, in planum deferendo. Multi quidem sunt, quibus necessario haerendum sit in fastigio suo, ex quo non possunt nisi cadendo descendere: sed hoc ipsum testentur maximum onus suum esse, quod aliis graves esse cogantur, nec sublevatos se, sed suffixos: iustitia, mansuetudine humana, larga et benigna manu praeparent multa ad secundos casus praesidia, quorum spe securius pendeant. 7. Nihil tamen aequè nos ab his animi fluctibus vindicaverit, quam semper aliquem incrementis terminum figere: nec fortunae arbitrium desinendi dare, sed ipsos multo quidem citra exempla hortentur consistere. Sic et

aliquae cupiditates animum acuent et finitae, non in inmensum incertumque producent.

XI. Ad imperfectos et mediocres et male sanos hic meus sermo pertinet, non ad sapientem. Huic non timide nec pedetentim ambulandum est: tanta enim fiducia sui est, ut obviam fortunae ire non dubitet nec unquam loco illi cessurus sit: nec habet, ubi illam timeat, quia non mancipia tantum possessionesque et dignitatem, sed corpus quoque suum et oculos et manum et quicquid cariorem vitam facturum seque ipsum inter precaria numerat vivitque ut commodatus sibi et repositibus sine tristitia redditurus. 2. Nec ideo vilis est sibi, quia scit se suum non esse; sed omnia tam diligenter faciet, tam circumspecte, quam religiosus homo sanctusque solet tueri fidei commissa. Quandocumque autem reddere iubebitur, non queretur cum fortuna, sed dicet: Gratias ago pro eo, quod possedi habuique. Magna quidem res tuas mercede colui, sed quia imperas, do, cedo gratus libensque: si quid habere me tui volueris, etiam nunc servabo: si aliud placet, ego vero factum signatumque argentum, domum familiamque meam reddo, restituo. 3. Adpellaverit natura quae prior nobis credidit, et huic dicemus: Recipe animum meliorem quam dedisti: non tergiversor nec refugio: paratum habes a volente, quod non sentienti dedisti: aufer. Reverti unde veneris quid grave est? male vivet, quisquis nesciet bene mori. Huic itaque primum rei pretium detrahendum est et spiritus in servilia numerandus. *Gladiatores, ut ait Cicero, invisos habemus, si omni modo vitam inpetrare cupiunt: favemus, si contemptum eius prae se ferunt.* Idem

evenire nobis scias: saepe enim causa moriendi est timide mori. 4. Fortuna illa, quae ludos sibi facit, Quo, inquit, te reservem, malum et trepidum animal? eo magis convolneraberis et confodieris, quia nescis praebere iugulum. At tu et vives diutius et morieris expeditius, qui ferrum non subducta cervice nec manibus oppositis, sed animose recipis. Qui mortem timebit, nihil umquam pro homine vivo faciet: at qui sciat hoc sibi cum conciperetur statim conditum, vivet ad formulam et simul illud quoque eodem animi robore praestabit, ne quid ex iis, quae eveniunt, subitum sit. 5. Quicquid enim fieri potest, quasi futurum sit, prospiciendo malorum omnium inpetus molliet; qui ad praeparatos expectantesque nihil adferunt novi, securis et beata tantum spectantibus graves veniunt. Morbus enim, captivitas, ruina, ignis, nihil horum repentinum est. Sciebam, in quam tumultuosum me contubernium natura clusisset: totiens in vicinia mea conclamatum est, totiens praeter limen inmaturas exsequias fax cereusque praecessit: saepe a latere ruentis aedificii fragor sonuit: multos ex iis, quos forum, curia, sermo mecum contraxerat, nox abstulit et iunctas ad sodalitium manus capulus interseidit. 6. Mirer ad me aliquando pericula accessisse, quae circa me semper erraverint? Magna pars hominum est, quae navigatura de tempestate non cogitat. Numquam me in bona re mali pudebit auctoris. Publius, tragicis comicisque vehementior ingeniis, quotiens mimicas ineptias et verba ad summam caveam spectantia reliquit, inter multa alia cothurno, non tantum sipario fortiora, et hoc ait:

Cuivis potest accidere quod cuiquam potest,

7. Hoc si quis in medullas demiserit et omnia aliena mala, quorum ingens cotidie copia est, sic adspexerit, tamquam liberum illis et ad se iter sit; multo ante se armabit quam petatur. Sero animus ad periculorum patientiam post pericula instruitur. Non putavi hoc futurum: et umquam tu hoc eventurum credidisses? Quare autem non? Quae sunt divitiae, quas non egestas et fames et mendicitas a tergo sequatur? Quae dignitas, cuius non praetextam et augurale et lora patricia sordes comitentur et exportatio, notae et mille maculae et extrema contemptio? 8. Quod regnum est, cui non parata sit ruina et proculcatio et dominus et carnifex? nec magnis ista intervallis divisa, sed horae momentum interest inter solium et aliena genua. Scito ergo omnem condicionem versabilem esse et quicquid in ullum incurrit, posse in te quoque incurere. Locuples es? numquid divitior Pompeio? cui cum Caius, vetus cognatus, hospes novus, apernisset Caesaris domum, ut suam cluderet, defuit panis, aqua: cum tot flumina possideret in suo orientia, in suo cadentia, mendicavit stillicidia: fame ac siti periit in palatio cognati, dum illi heres publicum funus esuri-enti locat. 9. Honoribus summis functus es? numquid aut tam magnis aut tam insperatis aut tam universis quam Seianus? Quo die illum senatus deduxerat, populus in frusta divisit: in quem, quicquid congeri poterat, di hominesque contulerant, ex eo nihil superfuit, quod carnifex traheret. Rex es? non ad Croesum te mittam, qui rogam suum et escendit iussus et exstingui vidit, factus non regno tantum, sed etiam morti suae superstes: non ad Ingurtham, quem populus Romanus intra annum, quam timuerat,

spectavit. 10. Ptolemaeum Africae regem, Armeniae Mithridaten inter Caianas custodias vidimus: alter in exilium missus est, alter ut meliore fide mitteretur, optabat. In tanta rerum sursum ac deorsum euntium versatione si non quicquid fieri potest, pro futuro habes, das in te vires rebus adversis, quas infregit, quisquis prior vidit. 11. Proximum ab his erit, ne aut in supervacuis aut ex supervacuo laboremus, id est, ne aut quae non possumus consequi, concupiscamus, aut adepti vanitatem cupiditatum nostrarum sero post multum pudorem intellegamus: id est, ne aut labor inritus sit sine effectum aut effectus labore indignus. Fere enim ex his tristitia sequitur, si aut non successit aut successus pudet.

XII. Circumcidenda concursatio, qualis est magnae parti hominum domos et theatra et fora pererrantium. Alienis se negotiis offerunt, semper aliquid agentibus similes. Horum si aliquem exeuntem e domo interrogaveris, Quo tu? quid cogitas? respondebit tibi: Non mehercules scio: sed aliquos videbo, aliquid agam. Sine proposito vagantur quaerentes negotia nec quae destinaverunt agunt, sed in quae incurrerunt. Inconsultus illis vanusque cursus est, qualis formicis per arbusta repentibus, quae in summum cacumen, deinde in inum inanes aguntur. 2. Illis plerique similem vitam agunt, quorum non immerito quis inquietam inertiam dixerit. Quorundam quasi ad incendium currentium misereris: usque eo inpellunt obvios et se aliosque praecipitant, cum interim currerunt aut salutaturi aliquem non resalutaturum aut funus ignoti hominis prosecturi, aut iudicium saepe litigantis aut sponsalia saepe nubentis, et lec-

ticam adsectati quibusdam locis etiam tulerunt: deinde domum cum supervacua redeuntess lassitudine iurant nescisse se ipsos, quare exierint, ubi fuerint, postero die erraturi per eadem illa vestigia. Omnis itaque labor aliquo referatur, aliquo respiciat. 3. Non industria, inquietos et insanos falsae rerum imagines agitant: nam ne illi quidem sine aliqua spe moventur, proritat illos alicuius rei species, cuius vanitatem capta mens non coarguit. Eodem modo unumquemque ex his, qui ad augendam turbam exeunt, inanes et leves causae per urbem circumducunt nihilque habentem, in quod laboret, lux orta expellit; et cum multorum frustra liminibus illisus nomenclatores persalutavit, a multis exclusus neminem ex omnibus difficilius domi quam se convenit. 4. Ex hoc malo dependet illud teterrimum vitium, auscultatio et publicorum secretorumque inquisitio et multarum rerum scientia, quae nec tuto narrantur nec tuto audiuntur. Hoc secutum puto Democritum ita coepisse; *Qui tranquille volet vivere, nec privatim agat multa nec publice*, ad supervacua scilicet referentem. Nam si necessaria sunt, et privatim et publice non tantum multa, sed innumerabilia agenda sunt: ubi vero nullum officium sollemne nos citat, inhibendae actiones.

XIII. Nam qui multa agit, saepe fortunae potestatem sui facit; quam tutissimum est raro experiri, ceterum semper de illa cogitare et nihil sibi de fide eius promittere. Navigabo, nisi si quid inciderit: et praetor fiam, nisi si quid obstiterit: et negotiatio mihi respondebit, nisi si quid intervenerit. 2. Hoc est quare sapienti nihil contra opinionem dicamus ac-

cidere : non illum casibus hominum excerpimus, sed erroribus ; nec illi omnia ut voluit cedunt, sed ut cogitavit : inprimis autem cogitavit aliud posse propositis suis resistere. Necesse est autem levius ad animum pervenire destitutae cupiditatis dolorem, cui successum non utique promiseris.

XIV. Faciles etiam nos facere debemus, ne nimis destinatis rebus indulgeamus ; transeamusque in ea, in quae nos casus deduxerit, nec mutationes aut consilii aut status pertimescamus, dummodo nos levitas, inimicissimum quieti vitium, non excipiat. Nam et pertinacia necesse est anxia et misera sit, cui fortuna saepe aliquid extorquet, et levitas multo gravior nusquam se continens. Utrumque infestum est tranquillitati, et nihil mutare posse et nihil pati. 2. Utique animus ab omnibus externis in se revocandus est : sibi confidat, se gandeat, sua suspiciat, recedat, quantum potest, ab alienis et se sibi adplicet, damna non sentiat, etiam adversa benigne interpretetur. Nuntiato naufragio Zennon noster, cum omnia sua audiret submersa, *Iubet*, inquit, *me fortuna expeditius philosophari*. Minabatur Theodoro philosopho tyrannus mortem et quidem insepultam. *Habes*, inquit, *cur tibi placeas : hemina sanguinis in tua potestate est : nam quod ad sepulturam pertinet, o te ineptum, si putas mea interesse supra terram an infra putrescam*. 3. Canus Iulius, vir inprimis magnus, cuius admirationi ne hoc quidem obstat, quod nostro seculo natus est, cum Caio diu altercatus, postquam abeunti Phalaris ille dixit, *Ne forte inepta spe tibi blandiaris, duci te iussi : Gratias*, inquit, *ago, optime princeps*. Quid senserit dubito : multa enim mihi occurrunt. Contumeliosus esse voluit et

ostendere, quanta crudelitas esset, in qua mors beneficium erat? An exprobravit illi cotidianam dementiam? agebant enim gratias et quorum liberi occisi et quorum bona ablata erant. 4. An tamquam libertatem libenter accepit? Quicquid est, magno animo respondit. Dicet aliquis: Potuit post hoc iubere illum Caius vivere. Non timuit hoc Canus: nota erat Caii in talibus imperiis fides. Credisne illum decem medios usque ad supplicium dies sine ulla sollicitudine exegisse? verisimile non est, quae vir ille dixerit, quae fecerit, quam in tranquillo fuerit. Ludebat latrunculis, cum centurio agmen periturorum trahens illum quoque excitari iuberet. Vocatus numeravit calculos et sodali suo, *Vide, inquit, ne post mortem meam mentiaris te vicisse.* 5. Tum adnuens centurioni, *Testis, inquit, eris uno me antecedere.* Lusisse tu Canum illa tabula putas? inludit. Tristes erant amici talem amisuri virum. *Quid moesti, inquit, estis? Vos quaeritis an immortales animae sint: ego iam sciam: nec desiit veritatem in ipso fine scrutari et ex morte sua quaestionem habere.* Prosequebatur illum philosophus suus nec iam procul erat tumultus, in quo Caesari deo nostro fiebat cotidianum sacrum. Is, *Quid, inquit, Cane, nunc cogitas? aut quae tibi mens est? Observare, inquit Canus, proposui illo velocissimo momento an sensurus sit animus exire se:* promisitque, si quid explorasset, circummiturum amicos et indicaturum, quis esset animarum status. 6. Ecce in media tempestate tranquillitas: ecce animus aeternitate dignus, qui fatum suum in argumentum veri vocat; qui in ultimo illo gradu positus exeuntem animam percunctatur nec usque ad mortem tantum, sed aliquid etiam ex ipsa

morte discit: nemo diutius philosophatus. Sed non raptim relinquetur magnus vir et cum cura dicendus: dabimus te in omnem memoriam, clarissimum caput, Caianae cladis magna portio!

XV. Sed nihil prodest privatae tristitiae causas abie-
cisse. Occupat enim nonnumquam odium generis hu-
mani et occurrit tot scelerum felicitum turba, cum cogi-
taveris, quam sit rara simplicitas et quam ignota inno-
centia et vix unquam, nisi cum expedit, fides, et libidi-
nis lucra damnaque pariter invisae et ambitio usque eo
iam se suis non continens terminis, ut per turpitudinem
splendeat. Agitur animus in noctem et velut eversis
virtutibus, quas nec sperare licet nec habere prodest,
tenebrae oboriuntur. 2. In hoc itaque flectendi sumus,
ut omnia vulgi vitia non invisae nobis, sed ridicula vide-
antur et Democritum potius imitemur quam Heraclitum.
Hic enim, quotiens in publicum processerat, fle-
bat, ille ridebat: huic omnia, quae agimus, miseriae, illi
ineptiae videbantur. Elevanda ergo omnia et facili ani-
mo ferenda: humanius est deridere vitam quam deplo-
rare. 3. Adice quod de humano quoque genere melius
meretur qui ridet illud, quam qui luget. Ille et spei
bonae aliquid relinquit; hic autem stulte deflet, quae
corrigi posse desperat: et universa contemplatus maio-
ris animi est, qui risum non tenet quam qui lacrimas,
quando levissimum adfectum animi movet et nihil mag-
num, nihil severum, ne serius quidem ex tanto paratu
putat. Singula propter quae laeti ac tristes sumus, sibi
quisque proponat et sciet verum esse quod Bion dixit,
*Omnia hominum negotia similia initiis esse nec vitam
illorum magis sanctam aut severam esse quam concep-*
tum. 4. Sed satius est publicos mores et humana vitia

placide accipere nec in risum nec in lacrimas excidentem. Nam alienis malis torqueri aeterna miseria est, alienis delectari malis voluptas inhumana: sicut illa inutilis humanitas flere, quia aliquis filiam efferat, et frontem suam fingere. In suis quoque malis ita gerere se oportet, ut dolori tantum des, quantum poscit, non quantum consuetudo. Plerique enim lacrimas fundunt, ut ostendant, et totiens siccos oculos habent, quotiens spectator defuit, turpe iudicantes non flere, cum omnes faciant. 5. Adeo penitus hoc se malum fixit, ex aliena opinione pendere, ut in simulationem etiam res simplicissima, dolor, veniat. Sequetur pars, quae solet non inmerito contristare et in sollicitudinem adducere, ubi bonorum exitus mali sunt: ut Socrates cogitur in carcere mori, Rutilius in exilio vivere, Pompeius et Cicero clientibus suis praebere cervicem, Cato ille, virtutum viva imago, incumbens gladio simul de se ac de republica palam facere. 6. Necesse est torqueri tam iniqua praemia fortunam persolvere: et quid sibi quisque nunc speret, cum videat pessima optimos pati? Quid ergo est? vide quomodo quisque illorum tulerit; et si fortes fuerunt, ipsorum illos animos desidera: si muliebriter et ignave perierunt, nihil periit. Aut digni sunt, quorum virtus tibi placeat, aut indigni, quorum desideretur ignavia. Quid enim est turpius quam, si maximi viri timidos fortiter moriendo faciunt? Laudemus totiens dignum laudibus et dicamus: Tanto fortior, tanto felicior! hominis effugisti casus, livorem, morbum: existi ex custodia: non tu dignus mala fortuna dis visus es, sed indignus, in quem iam aliquid fortuna posset. 7. Subducentibus vero se et in ipsa morte ad vitam respectantibus manus iniciendae sunt.

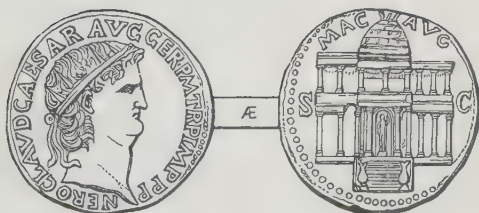
Neminem flebo laetum, neminem flentem : ille lacrimas meas ipse abstersit, hic suis lacrimis effecit, ne ullis dignus sit. Ego Herculem fleam, quod vivus uritur, aut Regulum, quod tot clavis transfigitur, aut Catonem, quod vulnere suo? Omnes isti levi temporis impensa invenerunt, quomodo aeterni fierent, et ad immortalitatem moriendo venerunt. 8. Est et illa sollicitudinum non mediocris materia, si te anxie conponas nec ullis simpliciter ostendas; qualis multorum vita est, ficta, ostentationi parata. Torquet enim adsidua observatio sui et deprehendi aliter ac solet, metuit; nec umquam cura solvimur, ubi totiens nos aestimari putamus, quotiens adspici. Nam et multa incidunt, quae invitos denudent, et, ut bene cedat tanta sui diligentia, non tamen iucunda vita aut secura est semper sub persona viventium. 9. At illa quantum habet voluptatis sincera et per se inornata simplicitas, nihil obtendens moribus suis? Subit tamen et haec vita contemptus periculum, si omnia omnibus patent: sunt enim qui fastidiant, quicquid propius adierunt. Sed nec virtuti periculum est, ne admota oculis revilescat, et satius est simplicitate contemni quam perpetua simulatione torqueri. Modum tamen rei adhibeamus: multum interest, simpliciter vivas an neglegenter. Multum et in se recedendum est: conversatio enim dissimilium bene composita disturbat et renovat adfectus et quicquid inbecillum in animo nec percuratum est, exulcerat. 10. Miscenda tamen ista et alternanda sint, solitudo et frequentia. Illa nobis faciet hominum desiderium, haec nostri; et erit alteri alterius remedium: odium turbae sanabit solitudo, taedium solitudinis turba. Nec in eadem intentione aequaliter retinenda mens est, sed

ad iocos devocanda. Cum puerulis Socrates ludere non erubescibat; et Cato vino laxabat animum curis publicis fatigatum. 11. Et Scipio triumphale illud ac militare corpus movet ad numeros, non molliter se infringens, ut nunc mos est etiam incessu ipso ultra muliebrein mollitiam fluentibus, sed ut antiqui illi viri solebant inter lusum ac festa tempora virilem in modum tripudiare, non facturi detrimentum, etiam si ab hostibus suis spectarentur. Danda est animis remissio: meliores acrioresque requieti surgent. Ut fertilibus agris non est imperandum (cito enim illos exhaustiet numquam intermissa fecunditas), ita animorum inpetus adsiduus labor franget. Vires recipient paulum resoluti et emissi. 12. Nascitur ex adsiduitate laborum animorum hebetatio quaedam et languor: nec ad hoc tanta hominum cupiditas tenderet, nisi naturalem quamdam voluptatem haberet lusus iocusque: quorum frequens usus omne animis pondus omnemque vim eripiet. Nam et somnus refectioni necessarius est: hunc tamen si per diem noctemque continues, mors erit. Multum interest, remittas aliquid, an solvas. Legum conditores festos instituerunt dies, ut ad hilaritatem homines publice cogerentur, tamquam necessarium laboribus interponentes temperamentum. 13. Et magni, ut dixi, viri quidam sibi menstruas certis diebus ferias dabant; quidam nullum non diem inter otium et curas dividebant: qualem Pollionem Asinium, oratorem magnum, meminimus quem nulla res ultra decumam retinuit: ne epistulas quidem post eam horam legebat, ne quid novae curae nasceretur; sed totius diei lassitudinem duabus illis horis ponebat. Quidam medio die interiunxerunt et

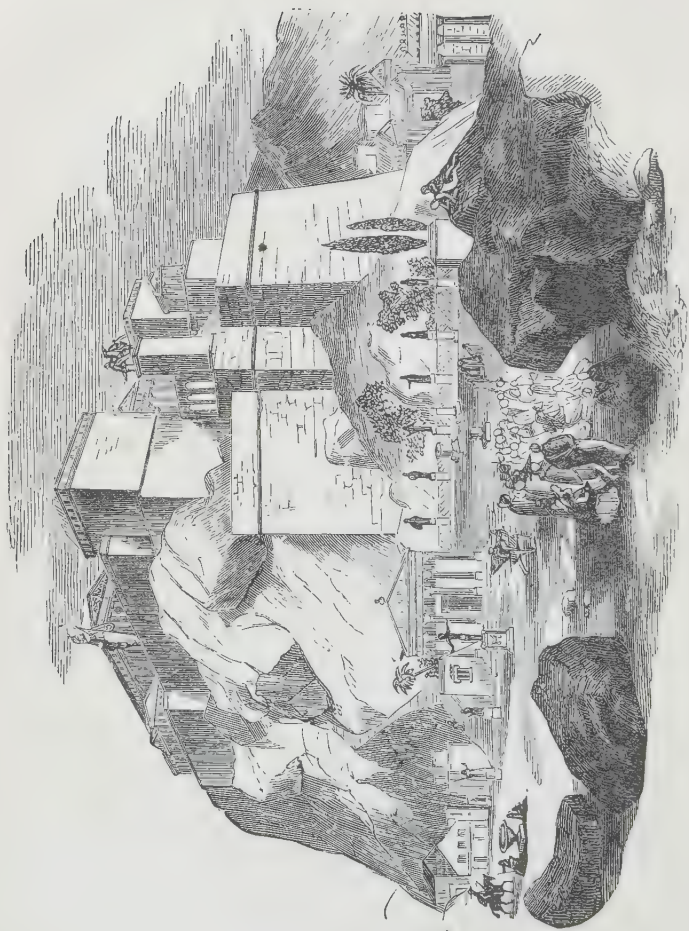
in postmeridianas horas aliquid levioris operae distulerunt. 14. Maiores quoque nostri novam relationem post horam decimam in senatu fieri vetabant. Miles vigilias dividit et nox immunis est ab expeditione redeuntium. Indulgendum est animo dandumque subinde otium, quod alimenti ac virium loco sit: et in ambulationibus apertis vagandum, ut coelo libero et multo spiritu augeat adtollatque se animus. Aliquando vectatio iterque et mutata regio vigorem dabunt convictusque et liberalior potio: nonnumquam et usque ad ebrietatem veniendum, non ut mergat nos, sed ut deprimat. 15. Eluit enim curas et ab imo animum movet et ut morbis quibusdam ita tristitiae medetur. *Liberque* non ob licentiam linguae dictus est inventor vini, sed quia liberat servitio curarum animum et adserit vegetatque et audaciorem in omnes conatus facit. Sed ut libertatis ita vini salubris moderatio est. Solonem Arcesilaumque indulsisse vino credunt. Catoni ebrietas obiecta est: facilius efficiet, quisquis obiecerit, hoc crimen honestum quam turpem Catonem. Sed nec saepe faciendum est, ne animus malam consuetudinem ducat, et aliquando tamen in exultationem libertatemque extrahendus tristisque sobrietas removenda paulisper. 16. Nam sive Graeco poetae credimus, *aliquando et insanire iucundum est*; sive Platoni, *frustra poeticas fores compos sui pepulit*; sive Aristoteli, *nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiae fuit*: non potest grande aliquid et super ceteros loqui nisi mota mens. Cum volgaria et solita contempsit instinctuque sacro surrexit excelsior, tunc demum aliquid cecinit grandius ore mortali. 17. Non potest

sublime quicquam et in arduo positum contingere, quamdiu apud se est: desciscat oportet a solito et efferatur et mordeat frenos et rectorem rapiat suum eoque ferat, quo per se timuisset escendere.

Habes, Serene carissime, quae possint tranquillitatem tueri, quae restituere, quae subrepentibus vitiis resistent. Illud tamen scito, nihil horum satis esse validum rem inbecillam servantibus, nisi intenta et adsidua cura circumit animum labentem.



Coin of Nero, with façade of the Macellum Augusti. From the British Museum.



The Areopagus.

L. ANNAEI SENECAE

AD PAULINUM

DE BREVITATE VITAE

LIBER UNUS.

The spirit of Stoicism existing by itself is narrow and harsh; it has too great affinity to pride and egotism; it is too repressive of the spontaneous feelings, of art, and poetry, and geniality of life. On the other hand, it is the stimulus to live above the world. Hence while the bare Stoical spirit, in whatever form, produces only an imperfect and repulsive character, a certain leaven of it, to say the least, is necessary: else would a man be wanting in all effort and aspiration of mind.

SIR ALEX. GRANT.

AD PAULINUM

DE BREVITATE VITAE.

I. MAIOR pars mortalium, Pauline, de naturae malignitate conqueritur, quod in exiguum aevi gignimur, quod haec tam velociter, tam rapide dati nobis temporis spatia decurrant, adeo ut exceptis admodum paucis ceteros in ipso vitae adparatu vita destituat. Nec huic publico, ut opinantur, malo turba tantum et inpudens volgus ingemuit: clarorum quoque virorum hic adfectus querelas evocavit. Inde illa maximi medicorum exclamatio est, *Vitam brevem esse, longam artem*. 2. Inde Aristotelis cum rerum natura exigentis minime conveniens sapienti viro lis est: ait istam *animalibus tantum indulsisse, ut quina aut dena secula educerent; homini in tam multa ac magna genito tanto citeriorem terminum stare*. 3. Non exiguum temporis habemus, sed multum perdidimus. Satis longa vita et in maximarum rerum consummationem large data est, si tota bene conlocaretur. Sed ubi per luxum ac negligentiam diffluit, ubi nullae bonae rei inpenditur; ultima demum necessitate cogente, quam ire non intelleximus, transisse sentimus. 4. Ita est, non accepimus brevem vitam, sed fecimus; nec inopes eius, sed prodigi sumus. Sic-

ut amplae et regiae opes, ubi ad malum dominum pervenerunt, momento dissipantur, at quamvis modicae, si bono custodi traditae sunt, usu crescant: ita aetas nostra bene disponenti multum patet.

II. Quid de rerum natura querimur? illa se benigne gessit: vita, si uti scias, longa est. Alium insatiabilis tenet avaritia, alium in supervacuis laboribus operosa sedulitas: alius vino madet: alius inertia torpet: alium defatigat ex alienis iudiciis suspensa semper ambitio: alium mercandi praeceps cupiditas circa omnes terras, omnia maria spe lucri ducit. Quosdam torquet cupido militiae numquam non aut alienis periculis intentos aut suis anxios: sunt quos ingratus superiorum cultus voluntaria servitute consumat. 2. Multos aut adfectatio alienae fortunae aut suae odium detinuit: plerosque nihil certum sequentis vaga et inconstans et sibi displicens levitas per nova consilia iactavit. Quibusdam nihil, quo cursum dirigant, placet, sed marcentis oscitantisque fataprehendunt, adeo ut quod apud maximum poetarum more oraculi dictum est, verum esse non dubitem:

Exigua pars est vitae quam nos vivimus.

Ceterum quidem omne spatium non vita, sed tempus est. 3. Urgentia circumstant vitia undique nec resurgere aut in dispectum veri adtollere oculos sinunt et mersos et in cupiditatem infixos premunt. Numquam illis recurrere ad se licet, si quando aliqua fortuito quies contigit: veluti profundo mari, in quo post ventum quoque volutatio est, fluctuantur nec umquam illis a cupiditatibus suis otium instat. De istis me putas disserere, quorum in confesso mala

sunt? adspice illos, ad quorum felicitatem concurritur: bonis suis effocantur. 4. Quam multis divitiae graves sunt? quam multorum eloquentia cotidiano ostentandi ingenii spatio sanguinem educit? quam multi continuis voluptatibus pallent? quam multis nihil liberi relinquit circumfusus clientium populus? Omnis denique istos ab infinis usque ad summos pererra: hic advocat, hic adest: ille periclitatur, ille defendit, ille iudicat. Nemo se sibi vindicat: alius in alium consumimur. 5. Interroga de istis, quorum nomina ediscuntur: his illos dignosci videbis notis: Ille illius cultor est, hic illius: suus nemo est. Deinde dementissima quorundam indignatio est: queruntur de superiorum fastidio, quod ipsis adire volentibus non vacaverint. Audet quisquam de alterius superbia queri, qui sibi ipse numquam vacat? Ille tamen te, quisquis est, insolenti quidem vultu, sed aliquando respexit: ille aures suas ad tua verba demisit: ille te ad latus suum recepit: tu non inspicere te umquam, non audire dignatus es.

III. Non est itaque, quod ista officia cuiquam imputes; quoniam quidem, cum illa faceres, non esse cum aliquo volebas, sed tecum esse non poteras. Omnia licet quae umquam ingenia fulserunt in hoc unum consentiant, numquam satis hanc humanarum mentium caliginem mirabuntur. Praedia sua occupari a nullo patiuntur et, si exigua contentio est de modo finium, ad lapides et arma discurrunt: in vitam suam incedere alios sinunt, immo vero ipsi etiam possessores eius futuros inducunt. Nemo invenitur, qui pecuniam suam dividere velit: vitam unusquisque quam multis distribuit? 2. Adstricti sunt in

continendo patrimonio, simul ad iacturam temporis ventum est, profusissimi in eo, cuius unius honesta avaritia est. Libet itaque ex seniorum turba comprehendere aliquem. Pervenisse te ad ultimum aetatis humanae videmus: centesimus tibi vel supra premittitur annus: agendum, ad computationem aetatem tuam revoca. Dic, quantum ex isto tempore creditor, quantum amica, quantum rex, quantum cliens abstulerit: quantum lis uxoria, quantum servorum coercitio, quantum officiosa per urbem discursatio. **3.** Adice morbos, quos manu fecimus: adice quod et sine usu iacuit: videbis te pauciores annos habere quam numeras. Repete memoria tecum, quando certus consilii fueris; quotus quisque dies ut destinaveras recesserit; quando tibi usus tui fuerit; quando in statu suo voltus, quando animus intrepidus; quid tibi in tam longo aevo facti operis sit; quam multi vitam tuam diripuerint te non sentiente quid perderes; quantum vanus dolor, stulta laetitia, avida cupiditas, blanda conversatio abstulerit; quam exiguum tibi de tuo relictum sit: intelleges te inmaturum mori.

IV. Quid ergo est in causa? tamquam semper victuri vivitis: numquam vobis fragilitas vestra succurrit: non observatis, quantum iam temporis transierit: velut ex pleno et abundanti perditis, cum interim fortasse ille ipse qui alicui vel homini vel rei donatur dies ultimas sit. Omnia tamquam mortales timetis, omnia tamquam immortales concupiscitis. Audies plerosque dicentes; A quinquagesimo anno in otium secedam: sexagesimus me annus ab officiis dimittet. Et quem tandem longioris vitae praedem accipis? quis ista sicut disponis ire patietur? **2.** Non pudet te re-

liquias vitae tibi reservare et id solum tempus bonae menti destinare, quod in nullam rem conferri possit? Quam serum est tunc vivere incipere, cum desinendum est? quae tam stulta mortalitatis oblivio in quinquagesimum et sexagesimum annum differre sana consilia et inde velle vitam inchoare, quo pauci perduxerunt? **3.** Potentissimis et in altum sublatis hominibus excidere voces videbis, quibus otium optent, laudent, omnibus bonis suis praeferant. Cupiunt interrim ex illo fastigio suo, si tuto liceat, descendere. Nam ut nihil extra lacessat aut quatiat: in te ipsa fortuna ruit.

V. Divus Augustus, cui di plura quam ulli praestiterunt, non desiit quietem sibi precari et vacationem a republica petere. Omnis eius sermo ad hoc semper revolutus est, ut speraret otium. Hoc labores suos, etiam si falso, dulci tamen oblectabat solatio, aliquando se victurum sibi. In quadam ad senatum missa epistula, cum requiem suam non vacuum fore dignitatis nec a priore gloria discrepantem pollicitus esset, haec verba inveni: **2.** *Sed ista fieri speciosius quam promitti possunt: me tamen cupido temporis optatissimi mihi provexit, ut quoniam rerum laetitia moratur adhuc, perciperem aliquid voluptatis ex verborum dulcedine.* Tanta visa est res otium, ut illam, quia usu non poterat, cogitatione praesumeret. Qui omnia videbat ex se uno pendentia, qui hominibus gentibusque fortunam dabat, illum diem laetissimus cogitabat, quo magnitudinem suam exueret. **3.** Expertus erat, quantum illa bona per omnes terras fulgentia sudoris exprimerent, quantum occultarum sollicitudinum tegerent: cum civibus primum, deinde

cum collegis, novissime cum adfinibus coactus armis decernere mari terraque sanguinem fudit: per Macedoniam, Siciliam, Aegyptum, Syriam Asianque et omnis prope oras bello circumactus Romana caede lassos exercitus ad externa bella convertit. 4. Dum Alpes placat inmixtosque mediae paci et imperio hostes perdomat, dum ultra Rhenum et Euphraten et Danubium terminos movet, in ipsa urbe Murenæ, Caepionis, Lepidi, Egnationum in eum mucrones acuebantur. Nondum horum effugerat insidias: filia et tot nobiles iuvenes adulterio velut sacramento adacti iam infractam aetatem territabant: plusque et iterum timenda cum Antonio mulier. 5. Haec ulcera cum ipsis membris absciderat; alia subnascebantur: velut grave multo sanguine corpus, partes semper aliquae rumpebantur. Itaque otium optabat: in huius spe et cogitatione labores eius residebant: hoc votum erat eius, qui voti compotes facere poterat. Marcus Cicero inter Catilinas, Clodios iactatus Pompeiosque et Crassos, partim manifestos inimicos, partim dubios amicos, dum fluctuatur cum republica et illam pessum euntem tenet, novissime abductus, nec secundis rebus quietus nec adversarum patiens, quotiens illum ipsum consulum suum non sine causa, sed sine fine laudatum deestatur? 6. Quam flebiles voces exprimit in quadam ad Atticum epistula iam victo patre Pompeio, adhuc filio in Hispania fracta arma refovente? *Quid agam, inquit, hic quaeris? moror in Tusculano meo semiliber.* Alia deinceps adicit, quibus et priorem aetatem conplorat et de praesenti queritur et de futura desperat. Semiliberum se dixit Cicero: at mehercules numquam sapiens in tam humile nomen procedet,

numquam semiliber erit; integrae semper libertatis et solidae, solutus, et sui iuris et altior ceteris. Quid enim supra eum potest esse, qui supra fortunam est?

VI. Livius Drusus, vir acer et vehemens, cum leges novas et mala Gracchana movisset, stipatus ingenti totius Italiae coetu, exitum rerum non pervidens, quas nec agere licebat nec iam liberum erat semel inchoatas relinquere, exsecratus inquietam a primordiis vitam dicitur dixisse, *Uni sibi ne puero quidem umquam ferias contigisse*. Ausus est enim et pupillus adhuc et praetextatus iudicibus reos commendare et gratiam suam foro interponere tam efficaciter quidem, ut quaedam iudicia constet ab illo rapta. 2. Quo non erumperet tam inmatura ambitio? scires in malum ingens et privatum et publicum evasuram praecoquem audaciam. Sero itaque querebatur nullas sibi ferias contigisse a puero seditiosus et foro gravis. Disputatur, an ipse sibi manus adtulerit: subito enim vulnere per inguen accepto conlapsus est, aliquo dubitante, an mors eius voluntaria esset, nullo, an tempestiva. 3. Supervacuum est commemorare plures qui, cum aliis felicissimi viderentur, ipsi in se verum testimonium dixerunt, perosi omnem actum annorum suorum. Sed his querelis nec alios mutaverunt nec se ipsos. Nam cum verba eruperunt, adfectus ad consuetudinem relabuntur. Vestra mehercules vita, licet supra mille annos exeat, in artissimum contrahetur. Ista vitia nullum non seculum devorabunt: hoc vero spatium quod, quamvis natura currit, ratio dilatat, cito vos effugiat necesse est. 4. Non enim adprehenditis nec retinetis nec velocissimae omnium rei moram facitis, sed abire ut rem supervacuam ac reparabilem sinitis. In primis

autem et illos numero, qui nulli rei nisi vino ac libidini vacant: nulli enim turpius occupati sunt: ceteri etiam si vana gloriae imagine teneantur, speciose tamen errant. 5. Licet avaros mihi, licet vel iracundos enuntes vel odia exercentes iniusta vel bella: omnes isti viriliter peccant: in Venerem ac libidinem projectorum inhonesta tabes est. Omnia istorum tempora excute: adspice quamdiu computent, quamdiu insidientur, quamdiu timeant, quamdiu colant, quamdiu colantur, quantum vadimonia sua atque aliena occupent, quantum convivia, quae iam ipsa officia sunt: videbis, quemadmodum illos respirare non sinant vel mala sua vel bona. 6. Denique inter omnes convenit nullam rem bene exerceri posse ab homine occupato, non eloquentiam, non liberales disciplinas, quando districtus animus nihil altius recipit, sed omnia velut inculcata respuit. Nihil minus est hominis occupati quam vivere: nullius rei difficilior scientia est.

VII. Professores aliarum artium volgo multique sunt: quasdam vero ex his pueri admodum ita percepisse visi sunt, ut etiam praecipere possent: vivere tota vita discendum est et, quod magis fortasse mirabile, tota vita discendum est mori. Tot maximi viri relictis omnibus impedimentis, cum divitiis, officiis, voluptatibus renuntiassent, hoc unum in extremam usque aetatem egerunt, ut vivere scirent: plures tamen ex his nondum se scire confessi vita abierunt; nedum ut isti sciant. 2. Magni, mihi crede, et supra humanos errores eminentis viri est nihil ex suo tempore delibari sinere: et ideo eius vita longissima est, quia, quantumcumque patuit, totum ipsi vacavit. Nihil inde incultum otiosumque iacuit, nihil sub alio

fuit: neque enim quicquam reperit dignum, quod cum tempore suo permutaret custos eius parcissimus. Itaque satis illi fuit: his vero necesse est defuisse, ex quorum vita multum populus tulit. 3. Nec est quod putes hinc illos aliquando intellegere damnum suum: plerosque certe audies ex his, quos magna felicitas gravat, inter clientium greges aut causarum actiones aut ceteras honestas miserias exclamare interdum, Vivere mihi non licet. Quidni non liceat? omnes illi, qui te sibi advocant, tibi abducunt. Ille reus quot dies abstulit? quot ille candidatus? quot illa anus efferendis heredibus lassa? quot ille ad irritandam avaritiam captantium simulatus aeger? quot ille potentior amicus, qui vos non in amicitiam, sed in adparatu habet? 4. Dispunge, inquam, et recense vitae tuae dies: videbis paucos admodum et reiculos apud te resedissee. Adsecutus ille quos optaverat fascēs cupit ponere et subinde dicit, Quando hic annus praeteribit? Facit ille ludos, quorum sortem sibi obtingere magno aestimavit: Quando, inquit, istos effugiam? Diripitur ille toto foro patronus et magno concursu omnia ultra, quam audiri potest, complet: Quando, inquit, res proferentur? 5. Praecipitat quisque vitam suam et futuri desiderio laborat, praesentium taedio. At ille qui nullum non tempus in usus suos confert, qui omnes dies tanquam vitam ordinat, nec optat crastinum nec timet. Quid enim est, quod iam ulla hora novae voluptatis possit adferre? omnia nota, omnia ad satietatem percepta sunt. De cetero fors fortuna, ut volet, ordinet: vita iam in tuto est: huic adici potest, detrahi nihil: et adici sic, quemadmodum saturo iam ac pleno aliquid cibi: qui quod nec desiderat capit.

VIII. Non est itaque quod quemquam propter canos aut rugas putes diu vixisse: [non ille diu vixit, sed] diu fuit. Quid enim, si illum multum putes navigasse, quem saeva tempestas a portu exceptum huc et illuc tulit ac vicibus ventorum ex diverso furentium per eadem spatia in orbem egit? non ille multum navigavit, sed multum iactatus est. Mirari soleo, cum video aliquos tempus petentes et eos, qui rogantur, facillimos. 2. Illud uterque spectat, propter quod tempus petatum est; ipsum quidem neuter. Quasi nihil petitur, quasi nihil datur, res omnium pretiosissima ludatur. Fallit autem illos, quia res incorporalis est, quia sub oculos non venit; ideoque vilissima aestimatur, immo paene nullum eius pretium est. Annua congiaria homines carissime accipiunt et his aut laborem aut operam aut diligentiam suam locant: nemo aestimat tempus: utuntur illo laxius quasi gratuito. 3. At eosdem aegros vide, si mortis periculum propius est admotum, medicorum genua tangentes: si metuunt capitale supplicium, omnia sua, ut vivant, paratos impendere: tanta in illis discordia adfectuum est. Quodsi posset quemadmodum praeteritorum annorum cuiusque numerus proponi, sic futurorum: quomodo illi, qui paucos viderent superesse, trepidarent, quomodo illis parcerent? Atqui facile est quamvis exiguum dispensare quod certum est: id debet servari diligentius, quod nescias quando deficiat. 4. Nec est tamen, quod putes illos ignorare, quam cara res sit. Dicere solent eis, quos valdissime diligunt, paratos se partem annorum suorum dare. Dant nec intellegunt: dant autem ita, ut sine illorum incremento sibi detrahant: sed hoc ipsum an

detrahant nesciunt: ideo tolerabilis est illis iactura detrimenti latentis. Nemo restituet annos, nemo iterum te tibi reddet. 5. Ibit, qua coepit, aetas nec cursum suum aut revocabit aut supprimet: nihil tu multuabitur, nihil admonebit velocitatis suae: tacita labetur. Non illa se regis imperio, non favore populi longius proferet: sicut missa est a primo die, curret: nusquam devertetur, nusquam remorabitur. Quid fiet? tu occupatus es, vita festinat: mors interim aderit cui, velis nolis, vacandum est.

IX. Potestne quisquam, dico hominum eorum qui prudentiam iactant operosius occupati sunt, quam ut melius possint vivere? Inpendio vitae vitam instruunt, cogitationes suas in longum ordinant. Maxima porro vitae iactura dilatio est: illa primum quemque extrahit diem, illa eripit praesentia, dum ulteriora promittit. Maximum vivendi impedimentum est exspectatio, quae pendet ex crastino. Perdis hodiernum: quod in manu fortunae positum est, disponis, quod in tua, dimittis. Quo spectas, quo te extendis? omnia quae ventura sunt, in incerto iacent: protinus vive. 2. Clamat ecce maximus vates et velut divino ore instinctus salutare carmen canit:

*Optima quaeque dies miseris mortalibus aevi
Prima fugit.*

Quid cunctaris, inquit, quid cessas? Nisi occupas, fugit, et cum occupaveris, tamen fugiet. Itaque cum celeritate temporis utendi velocitate certandum est et velut ex torrenti rapido nec semper ituro cito hauriendum. Hoc quoque pulcherrime ad exprobrandam infinitam cogitationem, quod non optimam quamque

aetatem, sed diem dicit. 3. Quid securus et in tanta temporum fuga lentus menses tibi et annos et longam seriem, utcumque aviditati tuae visum est, exporris? de die tecum loquitur et de hoc ipso fugiente. Non dubium est ergo, quin prima quaeque optima dies fugiat mortalibus miseris, id est occupatis: quorum pueriles adhuc animos senectus opprimit, ad quam inparati inermesque perveniunt. 4. Nihil enim provisum est: subito in illam nec opinantes inciderunt: accedere eam cotidie non sentiebant. Quemadmodum aut sermo aut lectio aut aliqua intentior cogitatio iter facientis decipit et pervenisse ante sciunt quam adpropinquasse: sic hoc iter vitae adsiduum et citatissimum, quod vigilantes dormientesque eodem gradu facimus, occupatis non adparet nisi in fine.

X. Quod proposui si in partes velim et argumenta diducere, multa mihi occurrent, per quae probem brevissimam esse occupatorum vitam. Solebat dicere Fabianus, non ex his cathedrariis philosophis, sed ex veris et antiquis, *Contra adfectus inpetu, non subtilitate pugnandum, nec minutis vulneribus, sed incursu avertendam aciem non probam: cavillationes enim contundi debere, non vellicari*. Tamen ut illis error exprobretur suus, docendi, non tantum deplorandi sunt. 2. In tria tempora vita dividitur: quod fuit, quod est, quod futurum est. Ex his quod agimus, breve est, quod acturi sumus, dubium, quod egimus, certum. Hoc est enim, in quod fortuna ius perdidit, quod in nullius arbitrium reduci potest. Hoc amittunt occupati: nec enim illis vacat praeterita respicere, et si vacet, iniucunda est poenitendae rei recordatio. In-

viti itaque ad tempora male exacta animum revocant nec audent ea retemptare, quorum vitia, etiam quae aliquo praesentis voluptatis lenocinio subripiebantur, retractando patescunt. Nemo, nisi a quo omnia acta sunt sub censura sua, quae nunquam fallitur, libenter se in praeteritum retorquet. 3. Ille qui multa ambitiose concupiit, superbe contempsit, inpotenter vicit, insidiose decepit, avare rapuit, prodige effudit, necesse est memoriam suam timeat. Atqui haec est pars temporis nostri sacra ac dedicata, omnes humanos casus supergressa, extra regnum fortunae subducta, quam non inopia, non metus, non morborum incursum exagitet. 4. Haec nec turbari nec eripi potest: perpetua eius et intrepida possessio est. Singuli tantum dies, et hi per momenta, praesentes sunt: at praeteriti temporis omnes, cum iusseris, aderunt, ad arbitrium tuum inspicere se ac detineri patientur; quod facere occupatis non vacat. Securae et quietae mentis est in omnes vitae suae partes discurrere: occupatorum animi, velut sub iugo sint, flectere se ac respicere non possunt. 5. Abit igitur vita eorum in profundum et ut nihil prodest, licet quantumlibet ingeras, si non subest, quod excipiat ac servet, sic nihil refert quantum temporis detur, si non est, ubi subsidat: per quassos foratosque animos transmittitur. 6. Praesens tempus brevissimum est, adeo quidem, ut quibusdam nullum videatur: in cursu enim semper est, fluit et praecipitatur: ante desinit esse quam venit; nec magis moram patitur quam mundus aut sidera, quorum inrequieta semper agitatio numquam in eodem vestigio manet. Solum igitur ad occupatos praesens pertinet tempus; quod tam breve est, ut adripi

non possit, et id ipsum illis districtis in multa subducitur.

XI. Denique vis scire quam non diu vivant? vide quam cupiant diu vivere. Decrepiti senes paucorum annorum accessionem votis mendicant: minores natu ipsos esse fingunt: mendacio sibi blandiuntur et tam libenter se fallunt quam si una fata decipiant. Iam vero cum illos aliqua inbecillitas mortalitatis admonuit, quemadmodum paventes moriuntur, non tamquam exeant de vita, sed tamquam extrahantur? stultos se fuisse, ut non vixerint, clamitant et, si modo evaserint ex illa valitudine, in otio victuros.

2. Tunc quam frustra paraverint, quibus non frucrentur, quam incassum omnis ceciderit labor, cogitant. At quibus vita procul ab omni negotio agitur, quidni spatiosa sit? nihil ex illa delegatur, nihil alio atque alio spargitur, nihil inde fortunae traditur, nihil neglegentia interit, nihil largitione detrahitur, nihil supervacuum est: tota, ut ita dicam, in reditu est. Quantulacumque itaque abunde sufficit et ideo, quandoque ultimus dies venerit, non cunctabitur sapiens ire ad mortem certo gradu.

3. Quaeris fortasse, quos occupatos vocem? non est quod me solos putes dicere, quos a basilica inmissi demum canes eiciunt, quos aut in sua vides turba speciosius elidi aut in aliena contemptius, quos officia domibus suis evocant, ut alienis foribus inlidant, quos hasta praetoris infami lucro et quandoque suppuraturo exercet. Quorumdam otium occupatum est: in villa aut in lecto suo, in media solitudine, quamvis ab omnibus recesserint, sibi ipsi molesti sunt: quorum non otiosa vita dicenda est, sed desidiosa occupatio.

XII. Illum tu otiosum vocas qui Corinthia, paucorum furore pretiosa, anxia subtilitate concinnat et maiorem dierum partem in aeruginosis lamellis consumit? qui in ceromate (nam, proh facinus, ne Romanis quidem vitiis laboramus) sectator puerorum rixantium sedet? qui vinctorum suorum greges in aetatium et colorum paria diducit? qui athletas novissimos pascit? Quid? illos otiosos vocas, quibus apud tonsorem multae horae transmittuntur, dum decerpitur, si quid proxima nocte succrevit, dum de singulis capillis in consilium itur, dum aut disiecta coma restituitur aut deficiens hinc atque illinc in frontem compellitur? 2. Quomodo irascuntur, si tonsor paulo negligentior fuit, tamquam virum tonderet? Quomodo excandescunt, si quid ex iuba sua decusum est, si quid extra ordinem iacuit, nisi omnia in anulos suos reciderunt? Quis est istorum qui non malit rempublicam suam turbari quam comam? qui non sollicitior sit de capitis sui decore quam de salute? qui non comptior esse malit quam honestior? Hos tu otiosos vocas inter pectinem speculumque occupatos? 3. Quid illi qui in componendis, audiendis, dicendis canticis operati sunt; dum vocem, cuius rectum cursum natura et optimum et simplicissimum fecit, inflexu modulationis inertissimae torquent? Quorum digiti aliquod intra se carmen metientes semper sonant; quorum, cum ad res serias, saepe etiam tristes adhibiti sunt, exauditur tacita modulatio? non habent isti otium, sed iners negotium. 4. Convivia mehercules horum non posuerim inter vacantia tempora, cum videam, quam solliciti argentum ordinent, quam diligenter exoletorum suorum

tunicas succingant, quam suspensi sint quomodo aper a coco exeat, quanta celeritate signo dato glabri ad ministeria discurrant, quanta arte scindantur aves in frusta non enormia, quam curiose infelices pueruli ebriorum sputa detergeant. Ex his elegantiae lautitiaeque fama captatur et usque eo in omnes vitae secessus mala sua illos sequuntur, ut nec bibant sine ambitione nec edant. 5. Ne illos quidem inter otiosos numeraveris, qui sella se et lectica huc et illuc ferunt et ad gestationum suarum, quasi deserere illas non liceat, horas occurrunt: quos quando lavari debeant, quando natare, quando coenare, alius admonet; et usque eo nimio delicati animi languore solvuntur, ut per se scire non possint, an esuriant. 6. Audio quemdam ex delicatis (si modo deliciae vocandae sunt vitam et consuetudinem humanam dediscere), cum ex balneo inter manus elatus et in sella positus esset, dixisse interrogando, *Iam sedeo?* Hunc tu ignorantem, an sedeat, putas scire an vivat, an videat, an otiosus sit? non facile dixerim, utrum magis miserear, si hoc ignoravit, an si ignorare se finxit. 7. Multarum quidem rerum oblivionem sentiunt, sed multarum et imitantur: quaedam vitia illos, quasi felicitatis argumenta, delectant. Nimis humilis et contempti hominis videtur scire quid faciat. I nunc et mimos multa mentiri ad exprobrandam luxuriam puta. Plura mehercules praetereunt quam fingunt et tanta incredibilium vitiorum copia ingenioso in hoc unum seculo processit, ut iam mimorum arguere possimus negligentiam. Esse aliquem, qui usque eo deliciis interierit, ut an sedeat alteri credat?

XIII. Non est ergo hic otiosus: aliud nomen in-

ponas: aeger est, immo mortuus est. Ille otiosus est, cui otii sui et sensus est: hic vero semivivus, cui ad intellegendos corporis sui habitus indice opus est: quomodo potest hic ullius temporis dominus esse? Persequi singulos longum est, quorum aut latrunculi aut pila aut excoquendi in sole corporis cura consumpsere vitam. 2. Non sunt otiosi, quorum voluptates multum negotii habent. Nam de illis nemo dubitabit, quin operose nihil agant, qui literarum inutilium studiis detinentur; quae iam apud Romanos quoque magna manus est. Graecorum iste morbus fuit quaerere, quem numerum Ulixes remigum habuisset: prior scripta esset Ilias an Odyssea: praeterea an eiusdem esset auctoris: alia deinceps huius notae; quae sive contineas, nihil tacitam conscientiam iuvant, sive proferas, non doctior videaris, sed molestior. 3. Ecce Romanos quoque invasit inane studium supervacua discendi. His diebus audiivi quemdam referentem, quae primus quisque ex Romanis ducibus fecisset. Primus navali proelio Duillius vicit, primus Curius Dentatus in triumpho duxit elephantos. Etiam nunc ista, etsi ad veram gloriam non tendunt, circa civilium tamen operum exempla versantur. 4. Non est profutura talis scientia; est tamen, quae nos speciosa rerum vanitate detineat. Hoc quoque quaerentibus remittamus, quis Romanis primus persuaserit navem conscendere? Claudius is fuit, *Caudex* ob hoc ipsum adpellatus, quia plurium tabularum contextus *caudex* apud antiquos vocatur; unde publicae tabulae *codices* dicuntur et naves nunc quoque, quae ex antiqua consuetudine commeatus per Tiberim subvehunt, *codicariae* vocantur. 5. Sane et hoc ad rem pertineat,

quod Valerius Corvinus primus Messanam vicit et primus ex familia Valeriorum urbis captae in se translato nomine *Messana* adpellatus est paulatimque volgo permutante literas *Messalla* dictus. Num et hoc cuiquam curare permittes, quod primus L. Sulla in circo leones solutos dedit, cum alioquin adligati darentur, ad conficiendos eos missis a rege Boccho iaculatoribus? et hoc sane remittatur. 6. Num et Pompeium primum in circo elephantorum duodeviginti pugnam edidisse commissis more proelii noxiis hominibus ad ullam rem bonam pertinet? Princeps civitatis et inter antiquos principes, ut fama tradidit, bonitatis eximiae, memorabile putavit spectaculi genus novo more perdere homines. Depugnant? parum est: lancinantur? parum est: ingenti mole animalium exterantur. Satius erat ista in oblivionem ire, ne quis postea potens disceret invideretque rei minime humanae.

XIV. O quantum caliginis mentibus nostris obicit magna felicitas! Ille se supra rerum naturam esse tunc credidit, cum tot miserorum hominum catervas sub alio coelo natis beluis obiceret, cum bellum inter tam disparia animalia committeret, cum in conspectu populi Romani multum sanguinis funderet mox plus ipsum fundere coacturus. At idem postea Alexandria perfidia deceptus ultimo mancipio transfodiendum se praebuit, tum demum intellecta inani iactatione cognominis sui. 2. Sed ut illo revertar, unde decessi, et in eadem materia ostendam supervacuam quorundam diligentiam: idem narrabat Metellum victis in Sicilia Poenis triumphantem unum omnium Romanorum ante currum centum et viginti captivos elephan-

tos duxisse. Sullam ultimum Romanorum protulisse pomoerium, quod numquam provinciali, sed Italico agro adquisito proferre moris apud antiquos fuit. 3. Hoc scire magis prodest, quam Aventinum montem extra pomoerium esse, ut ille adfirmabat, propter alteram ex duabus causis, aut quod plebs eo secessisset, aut quod Remo auspicante illo loco aves non addixissent. Alia deinceps innumerabilia, quae aut farta sunt mendaciis aut similia. Nam ut concedas omnia eos fide bona dicere, ut ad praestationem scribant: tamen cuius ista errores minuent? cuius cupiditates prement? quem fortio-rem, quem iustio-rem, quem liberaliorem facient. 4. Dubitare se interim Fabianus noster aiebat, an satius esset nullis studiis admo-beri quam his implicari. Soli omnium otiosi sunt qui sapientiae vacant: soli vivunt: nec enim suam tantum aetatem bene tuentur: omne aevum suo adiciunt. Quicquid annorum ante illos actum est, illis adquisitum est. Nisi ingratissimi sumus, illi clarissimi sacrarum opinionum conditores nobis nati sunt, nobis vitam praeparaverunt. 5. Ad res pulcherrimas ex tenebris ad lucem erutas alieno labore deducimur: nullo nobis seculo interdictum est, in omnia admittimur et, si magnitudine animi egredi humanae inbecillitatis angustias libet, multum, per quod spatiemur, temporis est. Disputare cum Socrate licet, dubitare cum Carneade, cum Epicuro quiescere, hominis naturam cum Stoicis vincere, cum Cynicis excedere, cum rerum natura in consortium omnis aevi patiatur incedere. 6. Quidni ab hoc exiguo et caduco temporis transitu in illa toto nos demus animo, quae immensa, quae aeterna sunt, quae

cum melioribus communia? Isti, qui per officia discursant, qui se aliosque inquietant, cum bene insanierint, cum omnium limina cotidie perambulaverint nec ullas apertas fores praeterierint, cum per diversissimas domos meritoriam salutationem circumtulervint; quotum quemque ex tam immensa et variis cupiditatibus districta urbe poterunt videre? quam multi erunt, quorum illos aut somnus aut luxuria aut inhumanitas submoveat? 7. Quam multi qui illos, cum diu torserint, simulata festinatione transcurrant? quam multi per refectum clientibus atrium prodire vitabunt et per obscuros aedium aditus profugient? quasi non inhumanius sit decipere quam excludere: quam multi hesternae crapula semisomnes et graves, illis miseriis somnum suum rumpentes, ut alienum expectent, vix adlevatis labris insusurratum millies nomen oscitatione superbissima reddent? 8. Hos in veris officiis morari licet dicamus, qui Zenonem, qui Pythagoran cotidie et Democritum ceterosque antistites bonarum artium, qui Aristotelem et Theophrastum volent habere quam familiarissimos: nemo horum non vacabit, nemo non venientem ad se beatiorem amantioremque sui dimittet: nemo quemquam vacuis a se manibus abire patietur. 9. Nocte conveniri et interdium ab omnibus mortalibus possunt. Horum te mori nemo coget, omnes docebunt: horum nemo annos tuos conterit, suos tibi contribuit: nullius ex his sermo periculosus erit, nullius amicitia capitalis, nullius sumptuosa observatio.

XV. Feres ex illis, quicquid voles: per illos non stabit, quo minus plurimum quantum ceperis haurias. Quae illum felicitas, quam pulchra senectus manet,

qui se in horum clientelam contulit? habebit, cum quibus de minimis maximisque rebus deliberet, quos de se cotidie consulat, a quibus audiat verum sine contumelia, laudetur sine adulatione, ad quorum se similitudinem effingat. Solemus dicere non fuisse in nostra potestate, quos sortiremur parentes, forte nobis datos: nobis vero ad nostrum arbitrium nasci licet. **2.** Nobilissimorum ingeniorum familiae sunt; elige in quam adscisci velis: non in nomen tantum adoptaberis, sed in ipsa bona: quae non erunt sordide nec maligne custodienda; maiora fient, quo illa pluribus diviseris. Hi tibi dabunt ad aeternitatem iter et te in illum locum, ex quo nemo deicitur, sublevabunt; haec una ratio est extendendae mortalitatis, immo in immortalitatem vertendae. Honores, monumenta, quicquid aut decretis ambitio iussit aut operibus extruxit, cito subruitur: nihil non longa demolitur vetustas et movet. **3.** At iis, quae consecravit sapientia, noceri non potest: nulla abolebit aetas, nulla diminuet: sequens ac deinde semper ulterior aliquid ad venerationem confert; quoniam quidem in vicino versatur invidia; simplicius longe posita miramur. Sapientis ergo multum patet vita: non idem illum qui ceteros terminus cludit: solus generis humani legibus solvitur: omnia illi secula ut deo serviunt. **4.** Transit tempus aliquod? hoc recordatione comprehendit: instat? hoc utitur: venturum est? hoc praecipit. Longam illi vitam facit omnium temporum in unum conlocatio. Illorum brevissima ac sollicitissima aetas est, qui praeteritorum obliviscuntur, praesentia neglegunt, de futuro timent: cum ad extrema venerunt, sero intellegunt miseri, tandiu se, dum nihil agunt, occupatos fuisse.

XVI. Nec est, quod hoc argumento probari putes longam illos agere vitam, quia interdum mortem invocant. Vexat illos imprudentia incertis adfectibus et incurrentibus in ipsa quae metuunt: mortem saepe ideo optant, quia timent. Illud quoque argumentum non est, quod putes, diu viventium, quod saepe illis longus videtur dies, quod, dum veniat condictum tempus coenae, tarde ire horas queruntur: nam si quando illos deseruerunt occupationes, in otio relictis aestuant, nec quomodo id disponant aut extrahant, sciunt. 2. Itaque ad occupationem aliquam tendunt et quod interiacet omne tempus grave est, tam mehercule, quam cum dies muneris gladiatorii edictus est, aut cum cuius alterius vel spectaculi vel voluptatis expectatur constitutum, transilire medios dies volunt. Omnis illis speratae rei longa dilatio est ad illud tempus, quod amanti breve est et praeceps breviusque multo suo vitio: aliunde enim alio transfugiunt et consistere in una cupiditate non possunt: non sunt illi longi dies, sed invisi. 3. At contra quam exiguae noctes videntur, quas in complexu scortorum aut vino exigunt? Inde etiam poetarum furor fabulis humanos errores alentium, quibus visus est Iupiter voluptate concubitus delentis duplicasse noctem. Quid aliud est vitia nostra incendere quam auctores illis inscribere deos et dare morbo exemplo divinitatis excusatam licentiam? 4. Possunt istis non brevissimae videri noctes, quas tam care mercantur? diem noctis expectatione perdunt, noctem lucis metu. Ipsae voluptates eorum trepidae et variis terroribus inquietae sunt subitque cum maxime exsultantis sollicita cogitatio, Haec quam diu? Ab hoc adfectu reges suam flere potentiam:

nec illos magnitudo fortunae suae delectavit, sed venturus aliquando finis exterruit. 5. Cum per magna camporum spatia porrigeret exercitum nec numerum eius, sed mensuram comprehenderet Persarum rex insolentissimus, lacrimas profudit, quod intra centum annos nemo ex tanta iuventute superfuturus esset. At illis admoturus erat fatum ipse, qui flebat, perditurusque alios in mari, alios in terra, alios proelio, alios fuga et intra exiguum tempus consumpturus illos, quibus centesimum annum timebat.

XVII. Quid, quod gaudia quoque eorum trepida sunt? non enim solidis causis innituntur, sed eadem, qua oriuntur, vanitate turbantur. Qualia autem putas esse tempora etiam ipsorum confessione misera, cum haec quoque, quibus se adtollunt et super hominem efferunt, parum sincera sunt? Maxima quaeque bona sollicita sunt nec ulli fortunae minus bene quam optimae creditur. Alia felicitate ad tuendam felicitatem opus est et pro ipsis, quae succedere, votis vota facienda sunt. 2. Omne enim, quod fortuito obvenit, instabile est: quod altius surrexerit, opportunius est in occasum: neminem porro casura delectant. Miserrimam ergo necesse est, non tantum brevissimam vitam eorum esse, qui magno parant labore, quod maiore possideant; operose adsequuntur, quae volunt, auxilii tenent, quae adsecuti sunt. Nulla interim numquam amplius redituri temporis ratio est. 3. Novae occupationes veteribus substituuntur, spes spem excitat, ambitionem ambitio: miseriarum non finis quaeritur, sed materia mutatur. Nostri nos honores torserunt? plus temporis alieni auferunt. Candidati laborare desimus? suffragatores incipimus. Accusandi deposuimus molestiam?

indicandi nanciscimur. Iudex desiit esse? quaesitor est. Alienorum bonorum mercenaria procuratione consenuit? suis opibus detinetur. Marius caliga dimisit? consulatus exercet. 4. Quintius dictaturam properat praevadere? ab aratro revocabitur. Ibit in Poenos nondum tantae maturus rei Scipio, victor Hannibalis, victor Antiochi, sui consulatus decus, fraterni sponsor, ni per ipsum mora sit, cum Iove reponetur? civiles servatorem agitabunt seditiones et post fastidiosos a iuvene dis aequos honores iam senem contumacis exilii delectabit ambitio. Numquam deerunt vel felices vel miserae sollicitudinis causae: per occupationes vita rodetur otium: numquam agetur, semper optabitur.

XVIII. Excerpe itaque te volgo, Pauline carissime, et in tranquilliores portus non pro aetatis spatio iactatus tandem recede. Cogita, quot fluctus subieris, quot tempestates partim privatas sustinueris, partim publicas in te converteris. Satis iam per laboriosa et inquieta documenta exhibita virtus est: experire, quid in otio faciat. Maior pars aetatis, certe melior reipublicae data sit: aliquid temporis tui sume etiam tibi. Nec te ad segnem aut inertem quietem voco: non ut somno et caris turbae voluptatibus, quicquid est in te indolis vivae, demergas. 2. Non est istud adquiescere: invenies maiora omnibus adhuc strenue tractatis operibus, quae repositus et securus agites. Tu quidem orbis terrarum rationes administras tam abstinenter quam alienas, tam diligenter quam tuas, tam religiose quam publicas: in officio amorem consequeris, in quo odium vitare difficile est: sed tamen, mihi crede, satius est vitae suae rationem quam frumenti publici nosse.

3. Istum animi vigorem, rerum maximarum capacissimum, a ministerio honorifico quidem, sed parum ad beatam vitam apto ad te revoca et cogita non id egisse te ab aetate prima omni cultu studiorum liberalium, ut tibi multa milia frumenti bene committerentur: maius quiddam et altius de te promiseras. Non deerunt et frugalitatis exactae homines et laboriosae operae. Tanto aptiora exportandis oneribus tarda iumenta sunt quam nobiles equi; quorum generosam pernicitatem quis umquam gravi sarcina pressit? Cogita praeterea, quantum sollicitudinis sit ad tantam te molem obicere: cum ventre tibi humano negotium est. 4. Nec rationem patitur nec aequitate mitigatur nec ulla prece flectitur populus esuriens. Modo intra paucos illos dies, quibus C. Caesar periit, si quis inferis sensus est, hoc gravissime ferens, quod decedebat populo Romano superstite, septem aut octo certe dierum cibaria superesse? dum ille pontes navibus iungit et viribus imperi ludit, aderat ultimum malorum obsessis quoque, alimentorum egestas. 5. Exitio paene ac fame constitit et, quae famem sequitur, rerum omnium ruina furiosi et externi et infeliciter superbi regis imitatio. Quem tunc animum habuerunt illi, quibus erat mandata frumenti publici cura? saxa, ferrum, ignes, Caium excepturi summa dissimulatione tantum inter viscera latentis mali tegebant, cum ratione scilicet: quaedam enim ignorantibus aegris curanda sunt: causa multis moriendi fuit morbum suum nosse.

XIX. Recipe te ad haec tranquilliora, tutiora, maiora. Simile tu putas esse, utrum cures, ut incorruptum et a fraude advehentium et a negligentia frumentum transfundatur in horrea, ne concepto humore vitietur

et concalescat, ut ad mensuram pondusque respondeat, an ad haec sacra et sublimia accedas sciturus, quae materia sit dis, quae voluptas, quae condicio, quae forma? quis animum tuum casus expectet, ubi nos et a corporibus dimissos natura componat? quid sit quod huius mundi gravissima quaeque in medio sustineat, supra levia suspendat, in summum ignem ferat, sidera vicibus suis excitet? cetera deinceps ingentibus plena miraculis. 2. Vis tu relicto solo mente ad ista respicere? nunc, dum calet sanguis, vigentibus ad meliora eundum est. Expectat te in hoc genere vitae multum bonarum artium, amor virtutum atque usus, cupiditatum oblivio, vivendi ac moriendi scientia, alta rerum quies. Omnium quidem occupatorum condicio misera est; eorum tamen miserrima, qui ne suis quidem laborant occupationibus, ad alienum dormiunt somnum, ad alienum ambulant gradum, amare et odisse, res omnium liberrimas, iubentur. 3. Hi si volent scire quam brevis ipsorum vita sit, cogitent ex quota parte sua sit. Cum videris itaque praetextam saepe iam sumptam, cum celebre in foro nomen, non invideris. Ista vitae damno parantur: ut unus ab illis numeretur annus, omnis annos suos conterent. Quosdam, antequam in summum ambitionis eniterentur, inter prima luctantis aetas reliquit: quosdam cum in consummationem dignitatis per mille indignitates erupissent, misera subit cogitatio laborasse ipsos in titulum sepulcri: quorundam ultima senectus, dum in novas spes ut iuventa disponitur, inter conatus magnos et improbos invalida defecit.

XX. Foedus ille, quem in iudicio pro ignotissimis litigatoribus grandem natu et inperitae coronae ad-

sensiones captantem spiritus liquit: turpis ille, qui vivendo lassus citius quam laborando inter ipsa officia conlapsus est: turpis, quem accipiendis inmorientem rationibus diu tractus risit heres. Praeterire quod mihi occurrit exemplum non possum: **2.** Turannius fuit exactae diligentiae senex, qui post annum nonagesimum, cum vacationem procurationis ab C. Caesare ultro accepisset, conponi se in lecto et velut exanimem a circumstante familia plangi iussit. Lugebat domus otium domini senis nec finivit ante tristitiam, quam labor illi suus restitutus est. Adeone iuvat occupatum mori? Idem plerisque animus est: diutius cupiditas illis laboris quam facultas est: cum inbecillitate corporis pugnant: senectutem ipsam nullo alio nomine gravem iudicant, quam quod illos seponit. **3.** Lex a quinquagesimo anno militem non legit, a sexagesimo senatorem non citat: difficilius homines a se otium inpetrant quam a lege. Interim dum rapiuntur et rapiunt, dum alter alterius quietem rumpit, dum mutuo miseri sunt, vita est sine fructu, sine voluptate, sine ullo profectu animi: nemo in conspicuo mortem habet, nemo non procul spes intendit. **4.** Quidam vero disponunt etiam illa, quae ultra vitam sunt, magnas moles sepulcrorum et operum publicorum dedicationes et ad rogi munera et ambitiosas exsequias. At mehercule istorum funera, tamquam minimum vixerint, ad faces et cereos ducenda sunt.



One Roman Mile.

L. ANNAEI SENECAE

AD GALLIONEM

DE VITA BEATA

LIBER UNUS.

By undeceiving, enlarging, and informing the intellect, Philosophy sought to purify and to elevate the moral character. . . . Across the night of Paganism, Philosophy flitted on, like the lantern-fly of the Tropics, a light to itself, and an ornament, but, alas, no more than an ornament, of the surrounding darkness.

COLERIDGE.

AD GALLIONEM

DE VITA BEATA.

I. **VIVERE**, Gallio frater, omnes beate volunt, sed ad pervidendum, quid sit quod beatam vitam efficiat, caligant: adeoque non est facile consequi beatam vitam, ut eo quisque ab ea longius recedat, quo ad illam concitatus fertur, si via lapsus est: quae ubi in contrarium ducit, ipsa velocitas maioris intervalli causa fit. Proponendum est itaque primum, quid sit quod adpetamus: tunc circumspiciendum, qua contendere illo celerrime possimus, intellecturi in ipso itinere, si modo rectum erit, quantum cotidie profligetur quantoque propius ab eo simus, ad quod nos cupiditas naturalis inpellit. 2. Quamdiu quidem passim vagamur non ducem secuti, sed fremitum et clamorem dissonum in diversa vocantium, conteretur vita inter errores brevis, etiam si dies noctesque bonae menti laboremus. Decernatur itaque, et quo tendamus et qua, non sine perito aliquo, cui explorata sint ea, in quae procedimus; quoniam quidem non eadem hic quae in ceteris peregrinationibus condicio est. In illis comprehensus aliquis limes et interrogati incolae non patiuntur errare: at hic tritissima quaeque via et celeberrima maxime decipit. 3. Nihil ergo magis praestandum est, quam ne

pecorum ritu sequamur antecedentium gregem, pergentes non quo eundum est, sed quo itur. Atqui nulla res nos maioribus malis implicat, quam quod ad rumorem componimur, optima rati ea, quae magno adsensu recepta sunt quorumque exempla nobis multa sunt, nec ad rationem, sed ad similitudinem vivimus; inde ista tanta coacervatio aliorum super alios ruentium.

4. Quod in strage hominum magna evenit, cum ipse se populus premit, nemo ita cadit, ut non et alium in se adtrahat, primique exitio sequentibus sunt, hoc in omni vita accidere videas licet: nemo sibi tantummodo errat, sed alieni erroris et causa et auctor est. Nocet enim adplicari antecedentibus, et dum unusquisque mavult credere quam iudicare, numquam de vita iudicatur, semper creditur versatque nos et praecipitat traditus per manus error: alienis perimus exemplis.

5. Sanabimur, si modo separemur a coetu: nunc vero stat contra rationem defensor mali sui populus. Itaque id evenit quod in comitiis, in quibus eos factos esse praetores iidem qui fecere mirantur, cum se mobilis favor circumegit. Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus est omnis iudicii, in quo secundum plures datur.

II. Cum de beata vita agetur, non est quod mihi illud discessionum more respondeas: Haec pars maior esse videtur. Ideo enim peior est. Non tam bene cum rebus humanis agitur, ut meliora pluribus placeant: argumentum pessimi turba est. Quaeramus ergo, quid optimum factu sit, non quid usitatissimum: et quid nos in possessione felicitatis aeternae constituat, non quid volgo, veritatis pessimo interpreti, probatum sit. Volgum autem tam chlamydatos quam co-

ronatos voco. 2. Non enim colorem vestium, quibus praetexta sunt corpora, adspicio: oculis de homine non credo: habeo melius et certius lumen, quo a falsis vera diiudicem. Animi bonum animus inveniat: hic, si umquam respirare illi et recedere in se vacaverit, o quam sibi ipse verum tortus a se fatebitur ac dicet: Quicquid feci adhuc, infectum esse mallet: quicquid dixi cum recogito, in multis rideo: quicquid optavi, inimicorum execrationem puto: quicquid timui, di boni, quanto levius fuit quam quod concupivi? 3. Cum multis inimicitias gessi et in gratiam ex odio, si modo ulla inter malos gratia est, reddi: mihi ipsi nondum amicus sum. Omnem operam dedi, ut me multitudini educerem et aliqua dote notabilem facerem: quid aliud quam telis me opposui et malivolentiae quod morderet ostendi? Vides istos qui eloquentiam laudant, qui opes sequuntur, qui gratiae adulantur, qui potentiam extollunt? omnes aut sunt hostes aut, quod in aequo est, esse possunt. Quam magnus mirantium tam magnus invidentium populus est.

III. Quin potius quaero aliquod usu bonum, quod sentiam, non quod ostendam: ista quae spectantur, ad quae consistitur, quae alter alteri stupens monstrat, foris nitent, introrsus misera sunt. Quaeramus aliquid non in speciem bonum, sed solidum et aequale et a secretiore parte formosius. Hoc eruanus: nec longe positum est; invenietur: scire tantum opus est quo manum porrigas. Nunc velut in tenebris vicina transimus offensantes ea ipsa quae desideramus. 2. Sed ne te per circumitus traham, aliorum quidem opiniones praeteribo: nam et enumerare illas longum

est et coarguere : nostram accipe : *nostram* autem cum dico, non adligo me ad unum aliquem ex Stoicis proceribus : est et mihi censendi ius. Itaque aliquem sequar, aliquem iubebo sententiam dividere : fortasse et post omnes citatus nihil inprobabo ex iis, quae priores decreverint, et dicam, *Hoc amplius censeo*. Interim quod inter omnis Stoicos convenit, rerum naturae adsentior : ab illa non deerrare et ad illius legem exemplumque formari sapientia est. 3. Beata est ergo vita conveniens naturae suae : quae non aliter contingere potest, quam si primum sana mens est et in perpetua possessione sanitatis suae, deinde fortis ac vehemens, tunc pulcherrima et patiens, apta temporibus, corporis sui pertinentiumque ad id curiosa non anxie : tum aliarum rerum quae vitam instruunt diligens, sine admiratione cuiusquam usura fortunae muneribus, non servitura. 4. Intellegis, etiam si non adiciam, sequi perpetuam tranquillitatem, libertatem depulsis iis quae aut inritant nos aut territant. Nam voluptatibus et pro illis quae parva ac fragilia sunt et in ipsis flagitiis noxia ingens gaudium subit, inconcussum et aequale : tum pax et concordia animi et magnitudo cum mansuetudine : omnis enim ex infirmitate feritas est.

IV. Potest aliter quoque definiri bonum nostrum, id est eadem sententia, non iisdem comprehendendi verbis. Quemadmodum idem exercitus modo latius panditur, modo in angustum coartatur et aut in cornua sinuata media parte curvatur aut recta fronte explicatur, vis illi, utcumque ordinatus est, eadem est et voluntas pro iisdem partibus standi : ita finitio summi boni alias diffundi potest et exporrigi, alias colligi et in se cogi. 2. Idem itaque erit, si dixero : Summum bonum est

animus fortuita despiciens, virtute laetus, aut, Invicta vis animi, perita rerum, placida in actu, cum humanitate multa et conversantium cura. Libet et ita finire, ut beatum dicamus hominem eum, cui nullum bonum malumque sit nisi bonus malusque animus: honesti cultor, virtute contentus, quem nec extollant fortuita nec frangant; qui nullum maius bonum eo quod sibi ipse dare potest noverit, cui vera voluptas erit voluptatum contemptio. 3. Licet, si evagari velis, idem in aliam atque aliam faciem salva et integra potestate transferre. Quid enim prohibet nos beatam vitam dicere liberum animum et erectum et interritum ac stabilem, extra metum, extra cupiditatem positum, cui unum bonum sit honestas, unum malum turpitudine? 4. Cetera vilis turba rerum nec detrahens quicquam beatæ vitæ nec adiciens, sine auctu ac detrimento summi boni veniens ac recedens. Hoc ita fundatum necesse est, velit nolit, sequatur hilaritas continua et lætitia alta atque ex alto veniens, ut quæ suis gaudeat nec maiora domesticis cupiat. Quidni ista bene penset cum minutis et frivolis et non perseverantibus corpusculi motibus? quo die infra voluptatem fuerit, et infra dolorem erit.

V. Vides autem, quam malam et noxiosam servitutem serviturus sit, quem voluptates doloresque, incertissima dominia inpotentissimaque, alternis possidebunt. Ergo exeundum ad libertatem est: hanc non alia res tribuit quam fortunæ negligentia. Tum illud orietur inaestimabile bonum, quies mentis in tuto collocata et sublimitas expulsisque terroribus ex cognitione veri gaudium grande et inmotum comitasque et diffusio animi: quibus delectabitur non ut bonis, sed ut

ex bono suo ortis. 2. Quoniam liberaliter agere coe-
pi, potest beatus dici, qui nec cupit nec timet benefi-
cio rationis. Quoniam et saxa timore et tristitia carent
nec minus pecudes; non ideo tamen quisquam felicia
dixerit, quibus non est felicitatis intellectus. Eodem
loco pone homines, quos in numerum pecorum et ani-
malium redegit hebes natura et ignoratio sui. 3. Ni-
hil interest inter hos et illa, quoniam illis nulla ratio
est, his prava et malo suo atque in perversum sollers.
Beatus enim nemo dici potest extra veritatem proie-
ctus: beata ergo vita est in recto certoque iudicio sta-
bilis et immutabilis. Tunc enim pura mens est et so-
luta omnibus malis, cum non tantum lacerationes, sed
etiam vellicationes effugerit, statura semper ubi consti-
tit ac sedem suam etiam irata et infestante fortuna
vindictura. 4. Nam quod ad voluptatem pertinet,
licet circumfundatur undique et per omnes vias influ-
at animumque blandimentis suis leniat aliaque ex aliis
admoveat, quibus totos partesque nostri sollicitet: quis
mortalium, cui ullum superest hominis vestigium, per
diem noctemque titillari velit, deserto animo corpori
operam dare?

VI. Sed animus quoque, inquit, voluptates habebit
suas. Habeat sane sedeaturque luxuriae et voluptatum
arbiter, impleat se eis omnibus, quae oblectare sensus
solent: deinde praeterita respiciat et exoletarum vo-
luptatum memor exsultet prioribus futurisque iam in-
mineat ac spes suas ordinet, et dum corpus in prae-
senti sagina iacet, cogitationes ad futura praemittat:
hoc mihi videbitur miserior, quoniam mala pro bonis
legere dementia est. 2. Nec sine sanitate quisquam
beatus est nec sanus cui futura pro optimis adpetuntur.

Beatus ergo est iudicii rectus : beatus est praesentibus, qualiacumque sunt, contentus amicusque rebus suis : beatus est is, cui omnem habitum rerum suarum ratio commendat. Videt et in illis qui summum bonum dixerint, quam turpi illud loco posuerint. Itaque negant posse voluptatem a virtute deduci et aiunt nec honeste quemquam vivere, ut non iucunde vivat, nec iucunde, ut non honeste quoque. 3. Non video quomodo ista tam diversa in eandem copulam coniciantur. Quid est, oro vos, cur separari voluptas a virtute non possit ? videlicet quia omne bonis ex virtute principium est : ex huius radicibus etiam ea, quae vos et amatis et expetitis, oriuntur. Sed si ista indiscreta essent, non videremus quaedam iucunda, sed honesta ; quaedam vero honestissima, sed aspera, per dolores exigenda.

VII. Adice nunc, quod voluptas etiam ad vitam turpissimam venit ; at virtus malam vitam non admittit : et infelices quidam non sine voluptate, immo ob ipsam voluptatem sunt : quod non eveniret, si virtuti se voluptas inmiscuisset, qua virtus saepe caret, numquam indiget. Quid dissimilia, immo diversa componitis ? Altum quiddam est virtus, excelsum et regale, invictum, infatigabile : voluptas humile, servile, inbecillum, caducum, cuius statio ac domicilium fornices et popinae sunt. 2. Virtutem in templo convenies, in foro, in curia, pro muris stantem, pulverulentam, coloratam, callosas habentem manus : voluptatem latitantem saepius ac tenebras captantem circa balinea ac sudatoria ac loca aedilem metuentia, mollem, enervem, mero atque unguento madentem, pallidam aut fucatam et medicamentis pollinctam. 3. Summum bonum immortale est, nescit exire : nec satietatem habet nec poeni

tentiam : numquam enim recta mens vertitur nec sibi odio est : nec quicquam mutavit optima. At voluptas tunc, cum maxime delectat, exstinguitur : non multum loci habet ; itaque cito inplet et taedio est et post primum inpetum marcet. Nec id umquam certum est, cuius in motu natura est : ita ne potest quidem ulla eius esse substantia, quod venit transitive celerrime in ipso usu sui periturum. Eo enim pervenit ubi desinat, et dum incipit, spectat ad finem.

VIII. Quid, quod tam bonis quam malis voluptas inest ? nec minus turpes dedecus suum quam honestos egregia delectant. Ideoque praeceperunt veteres optimam sequi vitam, non iucundissimam, ut rectae ac bonae voluntatis non dux, sed comes sit voluptas. Natura enim duce utendum est : hanc ratio observat, hanc consulit. Idem est ergo beate vivere et secundum naturam. 2. Hoc quid sit, iam aperiā : si corporis dotes et apta naturae conservabimus diligenter et inpavide tamquam in diem data et fugacia, si non subierimus eorum servitutem nec nos aliena possederint, si corpori grata et adventicia eo nobis loco fuerint, quo sunt in castris auxilia et armaturae leves. Serviant ista, non imperent : ita demum utilia sunt menti. Incorruptus vir sit externis et insuperabilis miratorque tantum sui, fidens animo atque in utrumque paratus artifex vitae. Fiducia eius non sine scientia sit, scientia non sine constantia : maneant illi semel placita nec ulla in decretis eius litura sit. 3. Intellegitur, etiam si non adiecero, compositum ordinatumque fore talem virum et in iis quae aget, cum comitate magnificum. Erit vera ratio sensibus insita et capiens inde principia : nec enim habet

aliud, unde conetur aut unde ad verum inpetum capiat; in se revertatur. Nam mundum quoque, cuncta complectens rectorque universi deus in exteriora quidem tendit, sed tamen in totum undique in se redit.

4. Idem nostra mens faciat, cum secuta sensus suos per illos se ad externa porrexerit: et illorum et sui potens sit. Hoc modo una efficietur vis ac potestas concors sibi et ratio illa certa nascetur non dissidens nec haesitans in opinionibus comprehensionibusque nec in persuasionem. Quae cum se disposuit et partibus suis consensit et, ut ita dicam, concinuit, summum bonum tetigit. 5. Nihil enim pravi, nihil lubrici superest: nihil in quo arietet aut labet. Omnia faciet ex imperio suo nihilque inopinatum accidet; sed quicquid agetur, in bonum exhibit facile et parate et sine tergiversatione agentis. Nam pigritia et haesitatio pugnam et inconstantiam ostendit. Quare audaciter licet profiteris summum bonum esse animi concordiam. Virtutes enim ibi esse debebunt, ubi consensus atque unitas erit: dissident vitia.

IX. Sed tu quoque, inquit, virtutem non ob aliud colis, quam quia aliquam ex illa speras voluptatem. Primum non, si voluptatem praestatura virtus est, ideo propter hanc petitur: non enim hanc praestat, sed et hanc, nec huic laborat, sed labor eius, quamvis aliud petat, hoc quoque adsequetur. Sicut in arvo, quod segeti proscissum est, aliqui flores internascuntur: non tamen huic herbulae, quamvis delectet oculos, tantum operis insumptum est. 2. Aliud fuit serenti propositum, hoc supervenit: sic et voluptas non est merces nec causa virtutis, sed accessio: nec quia delectat, placet, sed si placet, et delectat. Summum

bonum in ipso iudicio est et habitu optimae mentis; quae cum suum inplevit et finibus se suis cinxit, consummatum est summum bonum nec quicquam amplius desiderat. Nihil enim extra totum est, non inagis quam ultra finem. Itaque erras, cum interrogas, quid sit illud, propter quod virtutem petam: quae- ris enim aliquid supra summum. 3. Interrogas, quid petam ex virtute? ipsam: nihil enim habet melius, ipsa pretium sui. An hoc parum magnum est? Cum tibi dicam, Summum bonum est infragilis animi rigor et providentia et subtilitas et sanitas et libertas et concordia et decor: aliquid etiamnunc exigis maius, ad quod ista referantur? Quid mihi voluptatem nominas? Hominis bonum quaero, non ventris, qui pecudibus ac beluis laxior est.

X. Dissimulas, inquit, quid a me dicatur: ego enim nego quemquam posse iucunde vivere, nisi simul et honeste vivit: quod non potest mutis contingere animalibus nec bonum suum cibo metientibus. Clare, inquit, ac palam testor hanc vitam, quam ego iucundam voco, non sine adiecta virtute contingere. Atqui quis ignorat plenissimos esse voluptatibus vestris stultissimos quosque? et nequitiam abundare iucundis animumque ipsum non tantum genera voluptatis prava, sed multa suggerere? 2. In primis insolentiam et nimiam aestimationem sui tumoremque elatum super ceteros et amorem rerum suarum caecum et improvidum, delicias fluentis et ex minimis ac puerilibus causis exsultationem, iam dicacitatem ac superbiam contumeliis gaudentem, desidiam dissolutionemque segnis animi indormientis sibi. 3. Haec omnia virtus discutit et aurem pervellit et voluptates aestimat, antequam admittat:

nec quas probavit magni pendit (utique enim admittit), nec usu earum, sed temperantia laeta est: temperantia autem cum voluptates minuat, summi boni iniuria est. Tu voluptatem conplecteris, ego conpesco: tu voluptate frueris, ego utor: tu illam summum bonum putas, ego nec bonum: tu omnia voluptatis causa facis, ego nihil. Cum dico me nihil voluptatis causa facere, de illo loquor sapiente, cui soli concedis voluptatem.

XI. Non voco autem sapientem, supra quem quicquam est, nedum voluptas. Atqui ab hac occupatus quomodo resistet labori et periculo, egestati et tot humanam vitam circumstrepentibus minis? quomodo conspectum mortis, quomodo doloris feret? quomodo mundi fragores et tantum acerrimorum hostium? an molli adversario victus? Quicquid voluptas suaserit faciet. Age, non vides quam multa suasura sit? Nihil, inquit, poterit turpiter suadere, quia adiuncta virtuti est. Non vides iterum, quale sit summum bonum, cui custode opus est, ut bonum sit? 2. Virtus autem quomodo voluptatem reget, quam sequitur, cum sequi parentis sit, regere imperantis? a tergo ponis quod imperat? Egregium autem habet virtus apud vos officium voluptates praegustare. Sed videbimus, an apud quos tam contumeliose tractata virtus est, adhuc virtus sit: quae habere nomen suum non potest, si loco cessit: interim, de quo agitur, multos ostendam voluptatibus obsessos, in quos fortuna omnia munera sua effudit, quos fatearis necesse est malos. 3. Adspice Nomentanum et Apicium, terrarum ac maris, ut isti vocant, bona conquerentis et super mensam recognoscentis omnium gentium animalia. Vide hos eosdem e suggestu rosae spectantis popinam suam, aures vocum sono, spectacu-

lis oculos, saporibus palatum suum delectantes: molli-
bus lenibusque fomentis totum lacessitur eorum corpus
et, ne nares interim cessent, odoribus variis inficitur lo-
cus ipse, in quo luxuriae parentatur. Hoc esse in vo-
luptatibus dices: nec tamen illis bene erit, quia non
bono gaudent.

XII. Male, inquit, illis erit, quia multa interveniunt,
quae perturbent animum, et opiniones inter se contra-
riae mentem inquietabunt: quod ita esse concedo: sed
nihilominus illi ipsi stulti et inaequales et sub ictu poe-
nitentiae positi magnas percipient voluptates, ut faten-
dum sit tam longe tum illos ab omni molestia abesse
quam a bona mente et, quod plerisque contingit, hila-
rem insaniam insanire ac per risum furere. 2. At con-
tra sapientium remissae voluptates et modestae ac pae-
ne languidae sunt compressaeque et vix notabiles, ut
quae neque accersitae veniant nec, quamvis per se ac-
cesserint, in honore sint neque ullo gaudio percipien-
tium exceptae: miscent enim illas et interponunt vitae
ut ludum iocumque inter seria. Desinant ergo incon-
venientia iungere et virtuti voluptatem implicare, per
quod vitium pessimis quibusque adulantur. 3. Ille
effusus in voluptates, ructabundus semper atque ebri-
us, quia scit se cum voluptate vivere, credit et cum
virtute: audit enim voluptatem separari a virtute non
posse: deinde vitiis suis sapientiam inscribit et abscon-
denda profitetur. Itaque non ab Epicuro impulsu luxu-
riantur, sed vitiis dediti luxuriam suam in philosophiae
sinu abscondunt et eo concurrunt, ubi audiant laudari
voluptatem. 4. Nec aestimatur voluptas illa Epicuri
(ita enim mehercules sentio) quam sobria ac sicca sit:
sed ad nomen ipsum advolant quaerentes libidinibus

suis patrocinium aliquod ac velamentum. Itaque quod unum habebant in malis bonum perdunt, peccandi verecundiam: laudant enim ea, quibus erubescabant et vitio gloriantur: ideoque ne resurgere quidem adulescentiae licet, cum honestus turpi desidiaie titulus accessit.

XIII. Hoc est cur ista voluptatis laudatio perniciosa sit, quia honesta praecepta intra latent, quod corrumpit adparet. In ea quidem ipsa sententia sum (invitis hoc nostris popularibus dicam) sancta Epicurum et recta praecipere et, si propius accesseris, tristia: voluptas enim illa ad parvum et exile revocatur et quam nos virtuti legem dicimus, eam ille dicit voluptati. 2. Iubet illam parere naturae: parum est autem luxuriae quod naturae satis est. Quid ergo est? ille quisquis desidiosum otium et gulae ac libidinis vices felicitatem vocat, bonum malae rei quaerit auctorem et, dum illo venit blando nomine inductus, sequitur voluptatem, non quam audit, sed quam adtulit; et vitia sua cum coepit putare similia praeceptis, indulget illis non timide nec obscure: luxuriatur etiam inde aperto capite. Itaque non dico, quod plerique nostrorum, sectam Epicuri flagitiorum magistram esse, sed illud dico, male audit, infamis est, et inmerito. 3. Hoc scire quis potest nisi interius admissus? Frons eius ipsa dat locum fabulae et ad malam spem inritat. Hoc tale est, quale vir fortis stolam indutus. Constanti tibi pudicitiae veritas salva est; nulli corpus tuum turpi patientiae vacat, sed in manu tympanum est. Titulus itaque honestus eligatur et inscriptio ipsa excitans animum ad ea depellenda quae statim enervant cum venerunt vitia. 4. Quisquis ad virtutem accessit, dedit generosae indolis spem: qui

voluptatem sequitur, videtur enervis, fractus, degenerans vir, perventurus in turpia, nisi aliquis distinxerit illi voluptates, ut sciat, quae ex eis intra naturale desiderium desistant, quae praeceps ferantur infinitaeque sint et, quo magis implentur, eo magis inexpleribiles. Agedum, virtus antecedit: tutum erit omne vestigium. Et voluptas nocet nimia: in virtute non est verendum, ne quid nimium sit, quia in ipsa est modus. Non est bonum, quod magnitudine laborat sua.

XIV. Rationabilem porro sortitis naturam quae melius res quam ratio proponitur? et si placet ista iunctura [si hoc placet ad beatam vitam ire comitatu], virtus antecedit, comitetur voluptas et circa corpus ut umbra versetur. Virtutem quidem, excelsissimam omnium, voluptati tradere ancillam nihil magnum animo capientis est. Prima virtus sit, haec ferat signa: habebimus nihilominus voluptatem, sed domini eius et temperatores erimus: aliquid nos exorabit, nihil coget. 2. At ei, qui voluptati tradidere principia, utroque caruere: virtutem enim amittunt: ceterum non ipsi voluptatem, sed ipsos voluptas habet, cuius aut inopia torquentur aut copia strangulantur. Miseri, si deseruntur ab illa, miseriores, si obruuntur! sicut deprensi mari Syrtico modo in sicco relinquuntur, modo torrente unda fluctuantur. 3. Evenit autem hoc nimia intemperantia et amore caecae rei: nam mala pro bonis petenti periculosum est adsequi. Ut feras cum labore periculoque venamur et captarum quoque illarum sollicita possessio est (saepe enim laniant dominos): ita habentes magnas voluptates in magnum malum evasere captaeque cepere. Quae quo plures maioresque sunt, eo ille minor ac plurium servus est, quem felicem vol-

gus adpellat. 4. Permanere libet in hac etiamnunc huius rei imagine: quemadmodum qui bestiarum cubilia indagat et *laqueo captare feras* magno aestimat et *latos canibus circumdare saltus*, ut illarum vestigia premat, potiora deserit multisque officiis renuntiat: ita qui sectatur voluptatem, omnia postponit et primam libertatem neglegit ac pro ventre dependit; nec voluptates sibi emit, sed se voluptatibus vendit.

XV. Quid tamen, inquit, prohibet in unum virtutem voluptatemque confundi et effici summum bonum, ut idem et honestum et iucundum sit? Quia pars honesti non potest esse nisi honestum: nec summum bonum habebit sinceritatem suam, si aliquid in se viderit dissimile meliori. Ne gaudium quidem quod ex virtute oritur, quamvis bonum sit, absoluti tamen boni pars est, non magis quam laetitia et tranquillitas, quamvis ex pulcherrimis causis nascantur. 2. Sunt enim ista bona. sed consequentia summum bonum, non consummantia. Qui vero virtutis voluptatisque societatem facit et ne ex aequo quidem, fragilitate alterius boni quicquid in altero vigoris est hebetat libertatemque illam, ita demum, si nihil se pretiosius novit, invictam, sub iugum mittit. Nam, quae maxima servitus est, incipit illi opus esse fortuna: sequitur vita anxia, suspiciosa, trepida, casum pavens: temporum suspensa momenta sunt. 3. Non das virtuti fundamentum grave, immobile, sed iubes illam in loco volubili stare. Quid autem tam volubile est, quam fortuitorum exspectatio et corporis rerumque corpus adficientium varietas? Quomodo hic potest deo parere et quicquid evenit, bono animo excipere nec de fato queri casuum suorum benignus interpret, si ad voluptatum dolorumque punctiunculas con-

cutitur? Sed ne patriae quidem bonus tutor aut vindex est nec amicorum propugnator, si ad voluptates vergit. 4. Illo ergo summum bonum adscendat, unde nulla vi detrahitur; quo neque dolori neque spei nec timori sit aditus nec ulli rei, quae deterius summi boni ius faciat. Escendere autem illo sola virtus potest: illius gradu clivus iste frangendus est: illa fortiter stabit et quicquid evenerit, feret non patiens tantum, sed etiam volens: omnemque temporum difficultatem sciet legem esse naturae. 5. Et, ut bonus miles feret volnera, enumerabit cicatrices et transverberatus telis moriens amabit eum, pro quo cadet, imperatorem: habebit illud in animo vetus praeceptum, *deum sequere*. Quisquis autem queritur et plorat et gemit, imperata facere vi cogitur et invitus rapitur ad iussa nihilominus. Quae autem dementia est potius trahi quam sequi? 6. Tam mehercules quam stultitia et ignorantia condicionis est suae dolere, quod aliquid tibi incidit durius, aut mirari aut indigne ferre ea, quae tam bonis accidunt quam malis: morbos dico, funera, debilitates et cetera ex transverso in vitam humanam incurrentia. Quicquid ex universi constitutione patiendum est, magno usurpetur animo: ad hoc sacramentum adacti sumus, ferre mortalia nec perturbari iis, quae vitare non est nostrae potestatis. In regno nati sumus: deo parere libertas est.

XVI. Ergo in virtute posita est vera felicitas. Quid haec virtus tibi suadebit? ne quid aut bonum aut malum existimes, quod nec virtute nec malitia continget: deinde, ut sis immobilis et contra malum ex bono, ut qua fas est, deum effingas. Quid tibi pro hac expeditione promittit? ingentia et aequa divinis. Nihil co-

geris; nullo indigebis; liber eris, tutus, indemnis: nihil frustra temptabis, nihil prohibebers; omnia tibi ex sententia cedent: nihil adversum accidet, nihil contra opinionem ac voluntatem. 2. Quid ergo? virtus ad beate vivendum sufficit? Perfecta illa et divina quidni sufficiat, immo superfluat? Quid enim deesse potest extra desiderium omnium posito? quid extrinsecus opus est ei, qui omnia sua in se collegit? Sed ei, qui ad virtutem tendit, etiam si multum processit, opus est aliqua fortunae indulgentia adhuc inter humana luctanti, dum nodum illum exsolvit et omne vinculum mortale. Quid ergo interest? quod alii adligati sunt, alii adstricti, alii destrecti quoque. Hic, qui ad superiora progressus est et se altius extulit, laxam catenam trahit nondum liber, iam tamen pro libero.

XVII. Si quis itaque ex istis, qui philosophiam conlatrant, quod solent, dixerit: Quare ergo tu fortius loqueris quam vivis? Quare superiori verba submittis et pecuniam necessarium tibi instrumentum existimas et damno moveris et lacrimas audita coningis aut amici morte demittis et respicis famam et malignis sermonibus tangeris? 2. Quare cultius rus tibi est quam naturalis usus desiderat? cur non ad praescriptum tuum coenas? cur tibi nitidior supellex est? cur apud te vinum aetate tua vetustius bibitur? cur annum disponitur? cur arbores nihil praeter umbram daturae conservantur? quare uxor tua locupletis domus censum auribus gerit? quare paedagogium pretiosa veste subcingitur? quare ars est apud te ministrare nec temere et ut libet conlocatur argentum, sed perite servitur et est aliquis scindendi obsonii magister? 3. Adice, si vis, cur trans mare possides? cur plura quam nosti? turpiter aut tam

neglegens es, ut non noveris pauculos servos, aut tam luxuriosus, ut plures habeas quam quorum notitiae memoria sufficiat. Adiuvabo postmodo, convicia et plura mihi quam putas obiciam, nunc hoc respondeo tibi: Non sum sapiens et, ut malivolentiam tuam pascam, nec ero. 4. Exige itaque a me, ut non optimis par sim, sed ut malis melior: hoc mihi satis est, cotidie aliquid ex vitiis meis demere et errores meos obiurgare. Non perveni ad sanitatem, ne perveniam quidem: delinimenta magis quam remedia podagrae meae compono, contentus, si rarius accedit et si minus verminatur. Vestris quidem pedibus comparatus debilis cursor sum.

XVIII. Haec non pro me loquor; ego enim in alto vitiorum omnium sum; sed pro illo, cui aliquid acti est. Aliter, inquit, loqueris, aliter vivis. Hoc, malignissima capita et optimo cuique inimicissima, Platoni obiectum est, obiectum Epicuro, obiectum Zenoni. Omnes enim isti dicebant non quemadmodum ipsi viverent, sed quemadmodum esset ipsis vivendum. De virtute, non de me loquor, et cum vitiis convicium facio, in primis meis facio: cum potuero, vivam quomodo oportet. 2. Nec malignitas me ista multo veneno tincta deterrebit ab optimis: ne virus quidem istud, quo alios spargitis, quo vos necatis, me impedit, quo minus perseverem laudare vitam, non quam ago, sed quam agendam scio, quo minus virtutem et ex intervallo ingenti reptabundus sequar. 3. Expectabo scilicet, ut quicquam malivolentiae inviolatum sit, cui sacer nec Rutilius fuit nec Cato? Cur et aliqui non istis nimis dives videatur, quibus Demetrius Cynicus parum pauper est? virum acerrimum et contra omnia naturae desideria pugnantem, hoc pauperiorem quam ceteros

Cynicos, quod, cum sibi interdixerit habere, interdixit et poscere, negant satis egere. Vides enim? non virtutis scientiam, sed egestatis professus est.

XIX. Diodorum, Epicureum philosophum, qui intra paucos dies finem vitae suae manu sua inposuit, negant ex decreto Epicuri fecisse, quod sibi gulam praesequit: alii dementia videri volunt factum hoc eius, alii temeritatem: ille interim beatus ac plenus bona conscientia reddidit sibi testimonium vita excedens laudavitque aetatis in portu et ad ancoram actae quietem et dixit, quod vos inviti audistis, quasi vobis quoque faciendum sit:

Vixi et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi.

2. De alterius vita, de alterius morte disputatis et ad nomen magnorum ob aliquam eximiam laudem virorum, sicut ad occursum ignotorum hominum minuti canes, latratis. Expedit enim vobis neminem videri bonum, quasi aliena virtus exprobratio delictorum vestrorum sit. Invidi splendida cum sordibus vestris confertis nec intellegitis, quanto id vestro detrimento audeatis. Nam si illi, qui virtutem sequuntur, avari, libidinosi, ambitiosique sunt; quid vos estis, quibus ipsum nomen virtutis odio est? Negatis quemquam praestare, quae eloquitur, nec ad exemplar orationis suae vivere. 3. Quid mirum, cum loquantur fortia, ingentia, omnes humanas tempestates evadentia? cum refigere se crucibus conentur, in quas unusquisque vestrum clavos suos ipse adicit? ad supplicium tamen acti stipitibus singulis pendent. Hi, qui in se ipsi animum advertunt, quot cupiditatibus tot crucibus distrahuntur: aut maledici in alienam contumeliam venusti

sunt. Crederem illis hoc vacare, nisi quidam ex patibulo suos spectatores conspuerent.

XX. Non praestant philosophi quae loquuntur. Multum tamen praestant quod loquuntur, quod honesta mente concipiunt. Nam quidem si et paria dictis agerent, quid esset illis beatius? interim non est quod contemnas bona verba et bonis cogitationibus plena praecordia. Studiorum salutarium etiam citra effectum laudanda tractatio est. Quid mirum, si non escendunt in altum ardua adgressi? sed si vir es, suspice, etiam si decidunt, magna conantis. 2. Generosa res est respicientem non ad suas, sed ad naturae suae vires conari alta, temptare et mente maiora concipere, quam quae etiam ingenti animo adornatis effici possunt. Qui sibi hoc proposuit: Ego mortem eodem vultu audiam quo videbo: ego laboribus, quanticumque illi erunt, parebo animo fulciens corpus: ego divitias et praesentes et absentes aequae contemnam nec, si alicubi iacebunt, tristior nec, si circa me fulgebunt, animosior. Ego fortunam nec venientem sentiam nec recedentem: ego terras omnes tamquam meas videbo, meas tamquam omnium: ego sic vivam quasi sciam aliis me natum et naturae rerum hoc nomine gratias agam. 3. Quo enim melius genere negotium meum agere potuit? unum me donavit omnibus, uni mihi omnis: quicquid habebo, nec sordide custodiam nec prodige spargam: nihil magis possidere me credam quam bene donata: non numero nec pondere beneficia nec ulla nisi accipientis aestimatione perpendam: numquam id mihi multum erit, quod dignus accipiet: nihil opinionis causa, omnia conscientiae faciam: populo spectante fieri credam quicquid me conscio faciam. 4. Edendi

mihi erit bibendique finis desideria naturae restinguere, non implere alvum et exinanire : ego amicis iucundus, inimicis mitis et facilis exorabor antequam roger : honestis precibus occurram : patriam meam esse mundum sciam et praesides deos : hos supra me circaque me stare factorum dictorumque censores : quandoque aut natura spiritum repetet aut ratio dimittet, testatus exibo bonam me conscientiam amasse, bona studia, nullius per me libertatem deminutam, minime meam.

XXI. Qui haec facere proponet, volet, temptabit, ad deos iter faciet : nae ille, etiam si non tenuerit, *magnis tamen excidit ausis*. Vos quidem, quod virtutem cultoremque eius odistis, nihil novi facitis : nam et solem lumina aegra formidant et aversantur diem splendidum nocturna animalia, quae ad primum eius ortum stupent et latibula sua passim petunt, abduntur in aliquas rimas timida lucis. Gemite et infelicem linguam bonorum exercete convicio ; hiscite, conmordete : citius multo frangetis dentes quam inprimetis. 2. Quare ille philosophiae studiosus est et tam dives vitam agit ? quare opes contemnendas dicit et habet ? vitam contemnendam putat et tamen vivit ? valitudinem contemnendam et tamen illam diligentissime tuetur atque optimam mavult ? et exilium vanum nomen putat et ait, quid enim est mali mutare regiones ? et tamen, si licet, senescit in patria ? et inter longius tempus et brevius nihil interesse iudicat ; tamen, si nihil prohibet, extendit aetatem et in multa senectute placidus viret ? 3. Ait ista debere contemni ; non, ne habeat, sed ne sollicitus habeat : non abigit illa a se, sed abeuntia securus prosequitur. Divitias quidem ubi tutius fortuna deponet quam ibi, unde sine querela

reddentis receptura est? M. Cato cum laudaret Curium et Coruncanium et illud seculum, in quo censorium crimen erat paucae argenti lamellae, possidebat ipse quadragies sestertium, minus sine dubio quam Crassus, plus quam Censorius Cato. Maiore spatio, si comparentur, proavum vicerat, quam a Crasso vinceretur. Et, si maiores illi obvenissent opes, non sprevisset: nec enim se sapiens indignum ullis muneribus fortuitis putat. Non amat divitias, sed mavult: non in animum illas, sed in domum recipit: nec respuit possessas, sed continet et maiorem virtuti suae materiam subministrari vult.

XXII. Quid autem dubii est, quin haec maior materia sapienti viro sit animum explicandi suum in divitiis quam in paupertate? cum in hac unum genus virtutis sit non inclinari nec deprimi, in divitiis et temperantia et liberalitas et diligentia et dispositio et magnificentia campum habeat patentem. Non contemnet se sapiens, etiam si fuerit minimae staturae; esse tamen se procerum volet: et exilis corpore ac amisso oculo valebit; malet tamen sibi esse corporis robur. 2. Et hoc ita, ut sciat esse aliud in se valentius: malam valitudinem tolerabit, bonam optabit. Quaedam enim, etiam si in summam rei parva sunt, et subduci sine ruina principalis boni possunt, adiciunt tamen aliquid ad perpetuam laetitiam et ex virtute nascentem. Sic illum adficiunt divitiae et exhilarant, ut navigantem secundus et ferens ventus, ut dies bonus et in bruma ac frigore apricus locus. 3. Quis porro sapientum, nostrorum dico, quibus unum est bonum virtus, negat etiam haec, quae indifferentia vocamus, habere in se aliquid pretii et alia aliis esse potiora? Quibusdam ex iis tribuitur aliquid honoris, quibusdam multum. Ne erres itaque,

inter potiora divitiae sunt. 4. Quid ergo, inquis, me derides, cum eundem apud te locum habeant, quem apud me? Vis scire, quam non habeant eundem locum? mihi divitiae si effluxerint, nihil auferent nisi semetipsas: tu stupebis et videberis tibi sine te relictus, si illae a te recesserint: apud me divitiae aliquem locum habent, apud te suminum ac postremum: divitiae meae sunt, tu divitiarum es.

XXIII. Desine ergo philosophis pecunia interdicere: nemo sapientiam paupertate damnavit. Habebit philosophus amplas opes, sed nulli detractas nec alieno sanguine cruentas, sine cuiusquam iniuria partas, sine sordidis quaestibus, quarum tam honestus sit exitus quam introitus, quibus nemo ingemiscat nisi malignus. In quantum vis exaggera illas, honestae sunt: in quibus cum multa sint, quae sua quisque dici velit, nihil est, quod quisquam suum possit dicere. 2. Ille vero fortunae benignitatem a se non submovebit et patrimonio per honesta quaesito nec gloriabitur nec erubescet. Habebit tamen etiam quo glorietur, si aperta domo et admissa in res suas civitate poterit dicere: Quod quisque agnoverit, tollat. O magnum virum, optime divitem, si post hanc vocem tantumdem habuerit! ita dico, si tuto et securus scrutationem populo praebuerit, si nihil quisquam apud illum invenerit, quo manus iniciat; audacter et propalam erit dives. 3. Sapiens nullum denarium intra limen suum admittet male intrantem: idem magnas opes, munus fortunae fructumque virtutis, non repudiabit nec excludet. Quid enim est quare illis bono loco invidcat? veniant, hospitentur. Nec iactabit illas nec abscondet: alterum infruniti animi est, alterum timidi et pusilli velut magnum bo-

num intra sinum continentis : nec, ut dixi, eiciet illas e domo. Quid enim dicet ? utrumne, Inutiles estis, an, Ego uti divitiis nescio ? 4. Quemadmodum etiam pedibus suis poterit iter conficere, escendere tamen vehiculum malet : sic pauper, si poterit esse dives, volet, et habebit utique opes, sed tamquam leves et avolaturas : nec ulli alii nec sibi graves esse patietur. Quid ? Donabit : quid erexistis aures ? quid expeditis sinum ? donabit aut bonis aut eis, quos facere poterit bonos : donabit cum summo consilio dignissimos eligens, ut qui meminerit tam expensorum quam acceptorum rationem esse reddendam : donabit ex recta et probabili causa : nam inter turpes iacturas malum munus est. Habebit sinum facilem, non perforatum, ex quo multa exeant et nihil excidat.

XXIV. Errat, si quis existimat facilem rem esse donare. Plurimum ista res habet difficultatis, si modo consilio tribuitur, non casu et inpetu spargitur. Hunc promereor, illi reddo : huic succurro, huius misereor : illum instruo dignum quem non deducat paupertas nec occupatum teneat : quibusdam non dabo, quamvis desit ; quia, etiam si dederò, erit defuturum : quibusdam offeram, quibusdam etiam inculcabo. Non possum in hac re esse neglegens : numquam magis nomina facio, quam cum dono. 2. Quid ? tu, inquis, recepturus donas ? Immo non perditurus. Eo loco sit donatio, unde repeti non debeat, reddi possit. Beneficium conlocetur, quemadmodum thesaurus alte obrutus ; quem non eruas, nisi fuerit necesse. Quid ? domus ipsa divitis viri quantum habet benefaciendi materiam ? Quis enim liberalitatem tantum ad togatos vocat ? hominibus prodesse natura iubet : servi liberine sint hi, ingenui an libertini,

iustae libertatis an inter amicos datae, quid refert? ubicumque homo est, ibi beneficii locus est. 3. Potest itaque pecuniam etiam intra limen suum diffundere et liberalitatem exercere; quae non quia liberis debetur, sed quia a libero animo proficiscitur, ita nominata est. Haec apud sapientem nec umquam in turpes indignosque impingitur nec umquam ita defatigata errat, ut non, quotiens dignum invenerit, quasi ex pleno fluat. Non est ergo, quod perperam exaudiatis, quae honeste, fortiter, animose a studiosis sapientiae dicuntur: et hoc primum adtendite. 4. Aliud est studiosus sapientiae, aliud iam adeptus sapientiam. Ille tibi dicet; Optime loquor, sed adhuc inter mala volutor plurima: non est, quod me ad formulam meam exigas: cum maxime facio me et formo et ad exemplar ingens adtollo: si processero quantumcumque proposui, exige ut dictis facta respondeant. Adsecutus vero humani boni summa aliter tecum aget et dicet; Primum non est, quod tibi permittas de melioribus ferre sententiam: mihi iam, quod argumentum est recti, contingit malis displicere. 5. Sed, ut tibi rationem reddam, qua nulli mortalium invideo, audi quid promittam et quanti quaeque aestimem. Divitias nego bonum esse: nam si essent, bonos facerent: nunc quoniam, quod apud malos deprehenditur, dici bonum non potest, hoc illis nomen nego: ceterum et habendas esse et utiles et magna commoda vitae adferentis fateor.

XXV. Quid ergo est? quare illas non in bonis numerem et quid praestem in illis aliud quam vos, quoniam inter utrosque convenit habendas, audite. Pone in opulentissima me domo, pone ubi aurum argentumque in promiscuo usu sit: non suspiciam me ob ista quae, etiam si apud me extra me, tamen sunt. In sublicium

pontem me transfer et inter egentes abige: non ideo tamen me despiciam, quod in illorum numero consero, qui manum ad stipem porrigunt: quid enim ad rem, an frustum panis desit, cui non deest mori posse? Quid ergo est? domum illam splendidam malo quam pontem. 2. Pone in instrumentis splendentibus et delicato adparatu: nihilo me feliciorem credam, quod mihi molle erit amiculum, quod purpura convivis meis substernetur. Nihilo miserius ero, si lassa cervix mea in manipulo foeni adquiescet, si super Circense tomentum per sarturas veteris lintei effluens incubabo. Quid ergo est? malo, quid mihi animi sit, ostendere praetextatus et chlamydatum quam nudis scapulis aut semitectis. 3. Omnes mihi ex voto dies cedant; novae gratulationes prioribus subtexantur: non ob hoc mihi placebo. Muta in contrarium hanc indulgentiam temporis; hinc illinc percutiatur animus damno, luctu, incursionibus variis, nulla hora sine aliqua querela sit: non ideo me dicam inter miserrima miserum, non ideo aliquem execrabor diem: provisum est enim a me, ne quis mihi ater dies esset. Quid ergo est? malo gaudia temperare, quam dolores conpescere. 4. Hoc tibi ille Socrates dicet; Fac me victorem universarum gentium: delicatus ille Liberi currus triumphantem usque ad Thebas a solis ortu vehat: iura reges Penatium petant: me hominem esse maxime cogitabo, cum deus undique consalutabor. Huic tam sublimi fastigio coniunge protinus praecipitem mutationem: in alienum inponar fericulum exornaturus victoris superbi ac feri pompam: non humilior sub alieno curru agar quam in meo steteram. 5. Quid ergo est? vincere tamen quam capi malo. Totum fortunae regnum despiciam: sed ex

illo, si dabitur electio, meliora sumam. Quicquid ad me venerit, bonum fiet; sed malo faciliora ac iucundiora veniant et minus vexatura tractantem. Non est enim, quod existimes ullam esse sine labore virtutem: sed quaedam virtutes stimulis, quaedam frenis egent. Quemadmodum corpus in proclivi retineri debet, adversus ardua inPELLI; ita quaedam virtutes in proclivi sunt, quaedam elivum subeunt. 6. An dubium sit, quin escendat, nitatur, obluctetur patientia, fortitudo, perseverantia et quaecumque alia duris opposita virtus est et fortunam subigit? Quid ergo? non aeque manifestum est per devexum ire liberalitatem, temperantiam, mansuetudinem? In his continemus animum, ne prolabatur; in illis exhortamur incitamusque. Acerrimas ergo paupertati adhibebimus, illas quae pugnare sciunt, fortiores: divitiis illas diligentiores, quae suspensum gradum ponunt et pondus suum sustinent.

XXVI. Cum hoc ita divisum sit, malo has in usu mihi esse, quae exercendae tranquillius sunt, quam eas, quarum experimentum sanguis et sudor est. Ergo non ego aliter, inquit sapiens, vivo quam loquor, sed vos aliter auditis. Sonus tantummodo verborum ad aures vestras pervenit: quid significet non quaeritis. Quid ergo inter me stultum et te sapientem interest, si uterque habere volumus? Plurimum. Divitiae enim apud sapientem virum in servitute sunt, apud stultum in imperio: sapiens divitiis nihil permittit, vobis divitiae omnia. 2. Vos, tamquam aliquis vobis aeternam possessionem earum promiserit, adsuescitis illis et cohaeritis; sapiens tunc maxime paupertatem meditatur, cum in mediis divitiis constitit. Numquam imperator ita paci credit, ut non se praeparet bello; quod etiam si

non geritur, indictum est. Vos domus formosa, tamquam nec ardere nec ruere possit, insolentes, vos opes, tamquam periculum omne transcenderint maioresque sint vobis quam quibus consumendis satis virium habeat fortuna, obstupefaciunt. 3. Otiosi divitiis luditis nec providetis illarum periculum; sicut barbari plerumque, inclusi et ignari machinarum, segnes laborem obsidentium spectant nec quo illa pertineant, quae ex longinquo struuntur, intellegunt. Idem vobis evenit: marcetis in vestris rebus nec cogitatis, quot casus undique immineant iam iamque pretiosa spolia laturi. Sapiienti quisquis abstulerit divitias, omnia illi sua relinquet: vivit enim praesentibus laetus, futuris securus. 4. Nihil magis, inquit ille Socrates aut aliquis alius, cui idem ius adversus humana atque eadem potestas est, persuasi mihi, quam ne ad opiniones vestras actum vitae meae flecterem. Solita conferte undique verba: non conviciari vos putabo, sed vagire velut infantes miserrimos. Haec dicet ille, cui sapientia contigit, quem animus viti-orum immunis increpare alios, non quia odit, sed in remedium iubet. 5. Adiciet his illa: Existimatio me vestra non meo nomine, sed vestro movet, quia calamitates odisse, et lacessere virtutem bonae spei eiuratio est. Nullam mihi iniuriam facitis: sed ne dis quidem hi qui aras evertunt. Sed malum propositum adparet malumque consilium etiam ibi, ubi nocere non potuit. 6. Sic vestras hallucinationes fero quemadmodum Iupiter optimus maximus ineptias poetarum; quorum alius illi alas inposuit, alius cornua, alius adulterum illum induxit et abnoctantem, alius saevum in deos, alius iniquum in homines, alius raptorum ingenuorum corruptorem et cognatorum quidem, alius parricidam et regni

alieni paternique expugnatorem : quibus nihil aliud actum est, quam ut pudor hominibus peccandi demeretur, si tales deos credidissent. Sed quamquam ista me nihil laedant, vestra vos moneo causa : 7. Suspici- te virtutem : credite iis, qui illam diu secuti magnum quid- dam ipsos et quod in dies maius adpareat, sequi cla- mant ; et ipsam ut deos, et professores eius ut antistites colite : et quotiens mentio sacra literarum intervenerit, favete linguis. Hoc verbum non, ut plerique existi- mant, a favore trahitur ; sed imperatur silentium, ut rite peragi possit sacrum nulla voce mala obstrepente.

XXVII. Quod multo magis necessarium est impe- rari vobis, ut quotiens aliquid ex illo proferetur ora- culo, intenti et compressa voce audiat. Cum sistrum aliquis concutiens ex imperio mentitur, cum aliquis se- candi lacertos suos artifex brachia atque humeros sus- pensa manu cruentat, cum aliquis genibus per viam re- pens ululat laurumque linteatus senex et medio lucer- nam die praeferens conclamat iratum aliquem deorum ; concurritis et auditis et divinum esse eum, invicem mu- tuum alentes stuporem, adfirmatis. 2. Ecce Socrates ex illo carcere, quem intrando purgavit omni- que ho- nestiorem curia reddidit, proclamat : Quis iste furor ? quae ista inimica dis hominibusque natura est infamare virtutes et malignis sermonibus sancta violare ? Si po- testis, bonos laudate : si minus, transite. Quod si vobis exercere tetram istam licentiam placet, alter in alterum incursitate : nam cum in coelum insanitis, non dico sa- crilegium facitis, sed operam perditis. Praebui ego ali- quando Aristophani materiam iocorum : tota illa comi- corum poetarum manus in me venenatos sales suos effu- dit. 3. Inlustrata est virtus mea per ea ipsa, per quae

petebatur: produci enim illi et temptari expedit; nec ulli magis intellegunt, quanta sit, quam qui vires eius lacescendo senserunt. Duritia silicis nullis magis quam ferientibus nota est. Praebeo me non aliter quam rupes aliqua in vadoso mari destituta, quam fluctus non desinunt, undecumque moti sunt verberare: nec ideo aut loco eam movent aut per tot aetates crebro incursu suo consumunt. 4. Adsilite, facite inpetum: ferendo vos vincam. In ea, quae firma et inexsuperabilia sunt, quicquid incurrit, malo suo vim suam exercet. Proinde quaerite mollem cedentemque materiam, in qua tela vestra figantur. Vobis autem vacat aliena scrutari mala et sententias ferre de quoquam? Quare hic philosophus laxius habitat, quare hic lautius coenat? Papulas observatis alienas, obsiti plurimis ulceribus? 5. Hoc tale est quale si quis pulcherrimorum corporum naevos aut verrucas derideat, quem fera scabies depascitur. Obicite Platoni, quod petierit pecuniam, Aristoteli, quod acceperit, Democrito, quod neglexerit, Epicuro, quod consumpserit: mihi ipsi Alcibiadem et Phaedrum obiectate. 6. O vos usu maxime felices, cum primum vobis imitari vitia nostra contigerit! Quin potius mala vestra circumspicitis, quae vos ab omni parte confodiunt, alia grassantia extrinsecus, alia in visceribus ipsis ardentia? Non eo loco res humanae sunt: etiam si statum vestrum parum nostis, et vobis tantum otii supersit, ut in probra meliorum agitare linguam vacet?

XXVIII. Hoc vos non intellegitis et alienum fortunae vestrae voltum geritis; sicut plurimi, quibus in circo aut theatro desidentibus iam funesta domus est nec adnuntiatus malum. At ego ex alto prospiciens video,

quae tempestates aut immineant vobis paulo tardius
rupturae nimbum suum, aut iam vicinae vos ac ves-
tra rapturae propius accesserint. Quid porro? nonne
nunc quoque, etiam si parum sentitis, turbo quidam
animos vestros rotat et involvit, fugientes petentesque
eadem et nunc in sublime adlevatos nunc in infima
adlisos? * * * * *



Palace of the Caesars at Rome.



The Forum from the Capitol.

L. ANNAEI SENECAE

AD LUCILIUM

EPISTULAE SELECTAE,

ET

EPIGRAMMATA.

The teaching of Seneca, which drew all its interest from Greek philosophy, was alien from the old Roman sentiments. His doctrines were essentially cosmopolite. He sought to refer questions of honor and justice to general and eternal principles, rather than to solve them by the tests of precedents and political traditions. The educated men of the later Republic, as well as of the early Empire, had opened their arms wide to embrace these foreign speculations; and whether they had resigned themselves to Epicurism, as was the fashion under Julius and Augustus, or had cultivated Stoicism, which was now more generally in vogue, they equally abandoned the ground of their unpolished fathers, which asserted the pre-eminence of patriotism above all the virtues, the subordination of every claim of right and duty to national interest and honor. . . . As yet, Stoicism, in the ranks of Roman society, was merely a speculative creed; and the habit now prevalent there, of speculating on the unity of mankind, the equality of races, the universality of justice, the subjection of prince and people, of masters and slaves, of conqueror and conquered, to one rule of Right, tended undoubtedly to sap the exclusive and selfish spirit of Roman antiquity.

MERIVALE.

EPISTULAE SELECTAE.

EPISTULA II.

SENECA LUCILIO SUO SALUTEM.

Ex his quae mihi scribis, et ex his quae audio, bonam spem de te concipio. Non discurreis nec locorum mutationibus inquietaris. Aegri animi ista iactatio est. Primum argumentum compositae mentis existimo, posse consistere et secum morari. Illud autem vide, ne ista lectio auctorum multorum et omnis generis voluminum habeat aliquid vagum et instabile. Certis ingeniis inmorari et innutrirī oportet, si velis aliquid trahere, quod in animo fideliter sedeat. Nusquam est qui ubique est. 2. Vitam in peregrinatione exigentibus hoc evenit, ut multa hospitia habeant, nullas amicitias. Idem accidat necesse est his, qui nullius se ingenio familiariter adplicant, sed omnia cursim et properantes transmittunt. Non prodest cibus nec corpori accedit, qui statim sumptus emittitur. Nihil aequae sanitatem inpedit quam remediorum crebra mutatio. Non venit vulnus ad cicatricem, in quo medicamenta temptantur: non convalescit planta, quae saepe transfertur: nihil tam utile est, ut in transitu prosit: dstringit librorum multitudo. 3. Itaque cum legere non possis, quantum habueris, satis est habere, quantum legas. Sed modo, inquis, hunc librum evolvere volo, modo illum. Fastidientis stomachi est multa degustare, quae ubi varia sunt et diversa, inquinant, non alunt. Probatos itaque semper lege, et si quando ad alios divertī libuerit, ad priores redi. Aliquid cotidie adversus paupertatem, aliquid adversus mortem auxilii compara, nec mi-

nus adversus ceteras pestes: 4. et cum multa percurreris, unum excerpe, quod illo die concoquas. Hoc ipse quoque facio: ex pluribus, quae legi, aliquid adprehendo. Hodiernum hoc est, quod apud Epicurum nactus sum: (soleo enim et in aliena castra transire, non tamquam transfuga, sed tamquam explorator:) *Honesta*, inquit, *res est laeta paupertas*. Illa vero non est paupertas, si laeta est. Non qui parum habet, sed qui plus cupit, pauper est. 5. Quid enim refert, quantum illi in arca, quantum in horreis iaceat, quantum pascat, quantum ferneret, si alieno imminet, si non acquisita, sed acquirenda computat? Quis sit divitiarum modus, quaeris: primus, habere quod necesse est, proximus, quod sat est. Vale.

EPISTULA VI.

SENECA LUCILIO SUO SALUTEM.

Intellego, Lucili, non emendari me tantum, sed transfigurari. Nec hoc promitto iam aut spero, nihil in me superesse, quod mutandum sit. Quidni multa habeam, quae debeant colligi, quae extenuari, quae attolli? Et hoc ipsum argumentum est in melius translatis animi, quod vitia sua, quae adhuc ignorabat, videt. Quibusdam aegris gratulatio fit, cum ipsi aegros se esse senserunt. 2. Cuperem itaque tecum communicare tam subitam mutationem mei: tunc amicitiae nostrae certiorum fiduciam habere coepissem, illius verae, quam non spes, non timor, non utilitatis suae cura divellit: illius, cum qua homines moriuntur, pro qua moriuntur. Multos tibi dabo, qui non amico, sed amicitia caruerunt. Hoc non potest accidere, cum animos in societatem honesta cupiendi par voluntas trahit. 3. Quidni non possit? Sciunt enim ipsos omnia habere communia, et quidem magis adversa. Concipere animo non potes, quantum momenti adferre mihi singulos dies videam. Mitte, inquis, et nobis ista, quae tam efficacia expertus es. Ego vero omnia in te cupio transfundere, et in hoc ali-

quid gaudeo discere, ut doceam : nec me ulla res delectabit, licet sit eximia et salutaris, quam mihi uni sciturus sum. 4. Si cum hac exceptione detur sapientia, ut illam inclusam teneam nec enuntiem, reiciam. Nullius boni sine socio iucunda possessio est. Mittam itaque ipsos tibi libros : et ne multum operae inpendas, dum passim profutura sectaris, inponam notas, ut ad ipsa protinus, quae probo et miror, accedas. Plus tamen tibi et viva vox et convictus quam oratio proderit. 5. In rem praesentem venias oportet : primum, quia homines amplius oculis quam auribus credunt : deinde, quia longum iter est per praecepta, breve et efficax per exempla. Zenonem Cleanthes non expressisset, si tantummodo audisset. Vitae eius interfuit, secreta perspexit, observavit illum, an ex formula sua viveret. Platon et Aristoteles et omnis in diversum itura sapientium turba plus ex moribus quam ex verbis Socratis traxit. 6. Metrodorum et Hermarchum et Polyænum magnos viros non schola Epicuri, sed contubernium fecit. Nec in hoc te accerso tantum, ut proficias, sed ut prosis : plurimum enim alter alteri conferemus. Interim quoniam diurnam tibi mercedulam debeo, quid me hodie apud Hecatonem delectaverit dicam. *Quaeris, inquit, quid profecerim ? amicus esse mihi.* Multum proficit : numquam erit solus. Scito hunc amicum omnibus esse. Vale.

EPISTULA X.

SENECA LUCILIO SUO SALUTEM.

Sic est, non muto sententiam : fuge multitudinem, fuge paucitatem, fuge etiam unum. Non habeo cum quo te communicatum velim. Et vide, quod iudicium meum habeas : audeo te tibi credere. Crates, ut aiunt, huius ipsius Stilbonis auditor, cuius mentionem priori epistula feci, cum vidisset adolescentulum secreto ambulanti, interrogavit, *quid illic solus faceret ?* *Mecum, inquit, loquor.* Cui Crates : *Cave, in-*

quit, *rogo, et diligenter adtende, ne cum homine malo loquaris.*
2. Lugentem timentemque custodire solemus, ne solitudine male utatur: nemo est ex imprudentibus, qui relinqui sibi debeat. Tunc mala consilia agitant: tunc aut aliis aut ipsis futura pericula struunt: tunc cupiditates improbas ordiunt: tunc quicquid aut metu aut pudore celabat, animus exponit: tunc audaciam acuit, libidinem inritat, iracundiam instigat. Denique quod unum solitudo habet commodum, nihil ulli committere, non timere indicem, perit stulto: ipse se prodit. 3. Vide itaque, quid de te sperem, immo quid spondeam mihi (spes enim incerti boni nomen est): non invenio cum quo te malim esse quam tecum. Repeto memoria, quam magno animo quaedam verba proieceris, quanti roboris plena. Gratulatus sum protinus mihi et dixi: non a summis labris ista venerunt, habent hac voces fundamentum: iste homo non est unus e populo, ad salutem spectat. 4. Sic loquere, sic vive: vide ne te ulla res deprimat. Votorum tuorum veterum licet deis gratiam facias, alia de integro suscipe: roga bonam mentem, bonam valitudinem animi, deinde corporis. Quidni tu ista vota saepe facias? Audacter deum roga: nihil illum de alieno rogaturus es. Sed ut more meo cum aliquo munusculo epistulam mittam, verum est, quod apud Athenodorum inveni: 5. *Tunc scito esse te omnibus cupiditatibus solutum, cum eo perveneris, ut nihil deum roges, nisi quod rogare possis palam.* Nunc enim quanta dementia est hominum! turpissima vota dis insusurrant: si quis admoverit aurem, conticescent: et quod scire hominem nolunt, deo narrant. Vide ergo, ne hoc praecipi salubriter possit: Sic vive cum hominibus, tamquam deus videat: sic loquere cum deo, tamquam homines audiant. Vale.

EPISTULA XXIII.

SENECA LUCILIO SUO SALUTEM.

Putas me tibi scripturum, quam humane nobiscum hiems egerit, quae et remissa fuit et brevis, quam malignum ver sit, quam praeposterum frigus, et alias ineptias verba quaerentium. Ego vero aliquid, quod et mihi et tibi prodesse possit, scribam. Quid autem id erit, nisi ut te exhorter ad bonam mentem? Huius fundamentum quod sit quaeris? Ne gaudeas vanis. Fundamentum hoc esse dixi: culmen est. Ad summa pervenit, qui scit, quo gaudeat, qui felicitatem suam in aliena potestate non posuit. 2. Sollicitus est et incertus sui, quem spes aliqua proritat, licet ad manum sit, licet non ex difficili petatur, licet numquam illum sperata deceperint. Hoc ante omnia fac, mi Lucili: discce gaudere. Existimas nunc me detrahare tibi multas voluptates, qui fortuita submoveo, qui spes, dulcissima oblectamenta devitanda existimo? immo contra nolo tibi umquam deesse laetitiam. Volo illam tibi domi nasci: nascitur, si domus intra te ipsum sit. 3. Ceterae hilaritates non implent pectus: frontem remittunt, leves sunt: nisi forte tu iudicas eum gaudere qui ridet. Animus esse debet alacer et fidens et super omnia erectus. Mihi crede, verum gaudium res severa est. An tu existimas quemquam soluto vultu et, ut isti delicati loquuntur, hilariculo mortem contemnere? paupertati domum aperire? voluptates tenere sub freno? meditari dolorum patientiam? Haec qui apud se versat, in magno gaudio est, sed parum blando. 4. In huius gaudii possessione esse te volo: numquam deficiet, cum semel unde petatur inveneris. Levium metallorum fructus in summo est: illa opulentissima sunt, quorum in alto latet vena adsidue plenius responsura fodienti. Haec, quibus delectatur vulgus, tenuem habent ac perfusoriam voluptatem, et quodcumque inventicium gaudium est, fundamento caret: hoc, de quo

loquor, ad quod te conor perducere, solidum est, et quod plus pateat introrsus. 5. Fac, oro te, Lucili carissime, quod unum potest te praestare felicem: disice et conculca ista, quae extrinsecus splendent, quae tibi promittuntur ab alio: ad verum bonum specta et de tuo gaude. Quid est autem hoc *de tuo*? Te ipso et tui optima parte. Corpusculum quoque, etiam si nihil fieri sine illo potest, magis necessariam rem crede quam magnam: vanas subgerit voluptates, breves, poenitendas, ac nisi magna moderatione temperentur, in contrarium abituras. 6. Ita dico: in praecipiti voluptas ad dolorem vergit, nisi modum tenuit: modum autem tenere in eo difficile est, quod bonum esse credideris. Veri boni aviditas tuta est. Quid sit istud, interrogas, aut unde subeat? Dicam: ex bona conscientia, ex honestis consiliis, ex rectis actionibus, ex contemptu fortuitorum, ex placido vitae et continuo tenore unam prementis viam. Nam illi, qui ex aliis propositis in alia transsiliunt aut ne transsiliunt quidem, sed casu quodam transmittuntur, quomodo habere quicquam certum mansurumve possunt suspensi et vagi? 7. Pauci sunt, qui consilio se suaeque disponant: ceteri eorum more, quae fluminibus innatant, non eunt, sed feruntur. Ex quibus alia lenior unda detinuit ac mollius vexit, alia vehementior rapuit, alia proxima ripae cursu languescente deposuit, alia torrens inpetus in mare eiecit. Ideo constituendum est, quid velimus, et in eo perseverandum. Hic est locus solvendi aeris alieni. Possum enim vocem tibi Epicuri tui reddere et hanc epistolam liberare: 8. *Molestum est semper vitam inchoare*: aut si hoc modo magis sensus potest exprimi: *Male vivunt, qui semper vivere incipiunt*. Quare? inquis. Desiderat enim explanationem ista vox. Quia semper illis imperfecta vita est. Non potest autem stare paratus ad mortem, qui modo incipit vivere. Id agendum est, ut satis vixerimus: nemo hoc putat, qui orditur cum maxime vitam. Non est quod existimes paucos esse hos: propemodum omnes sunt. Quidam vero tunc incipiunt, cum desinendum est. Si hoc iudicas mirum, adiciam quod magis admireris: quidam ante vivere desierunt quam inciperent. Vale.

EPISTULA XLI.

SENECA LUCILIO SUO SALUTEM.

Facis rem optimam et tibi salutarem, si, ut scribis, perseveras ire ad bonam mentem, quam stultum est optare, cum possis a te inpetrare. Non sunt ad coelum elevandae manus nec exorandus aedituus, ut nos ad aurem simulacri, quasi magis exaudiri possimus, admittat: prope est a te deus, tecum est, intus est. Ita dico, Lucili: sacer intra nos spiritus sedet, malorum bonorumque nostrorum observator, et custos: hic prout a nobis tractatus est, ita nos ipse tractat. 2. Bonus vero vir sine deo nemo est. An potest aliquis supra fortunam nisi ab illo adiutus exurgere? Ille dat consilia magnifica et erecta. In unoquoque virorum bonorum

quis deus incertum est, habitat deus.

Si tibi occurrerit vetustis arboribus et solitam altitudinem egressis frequens lucus et conspectum coeli densitate ramorum aliorum alios protegentium submovens: illa proceritas silvae et secretum loci et admiratio umbrae in aperto tam densae atque continuae fidem tibi numinis facit. 3. Et si quis specus saxi penitus exesis montem suspenderit, non manu factus, sed naturalibus causis in tantam laxitatem excavatus, animum tuum quadam religionis suspitione percutiet. Magnorum fluminum capita veneramur: subita ex abdito vasti amnis eruptio aras habet: coluntur aquarum calentium fontes, et stagna quaedam vel opacitas vel inmensa altitudo sacravit. 4. Si hominem videris interritum periculis, intactum cupiditatibus, inter adversa felicem, in mediis tempestatibus placidum, ex superiore loco homines videntem, ex aequo deos: non subibit te eius veneratio? non dices: Ista res maior est altiorque quam ut credi similis huic, in quo est, corpusculo possit? Vis istuc divina descendit. Animum excellentem,

moderatum, omnia tamquam minora transeuntem quicquid timemus optamusque ridentem, coelestis potentia agitat. 5. Non potest res tanta sine adminiculo numinis stare: itaque maiore sui parte illic est, unde descendit. Quemadmodum radii solis contingunt quidem terram, sed ibi sunt, unde mittuntur: sic animus magnus ac sacer et in hoc demissus, ut propius divina nossemus, conversatur quidem nobiscum, sed haeret origini suae: illinc pendet, illuc spectat ac nititur, nostris tamquam melior interest. 6. Quis est ergo hic animus? qui nullo bono nisi suo nitet. Quid enim est stultius quam in homine aliena laudare? quid eo dementius, qui ea miratur, quae ad alium transferri protinus possunt? Non faciunt meliorem equum aurei freni. Aliter leo aurata iuba mittitur, dum contractatur et ad patientiam recipiendi ornamenti cogitur fatigatus, aliter incultus, integri spiritus. Hic scilicet inpetu acer, qualem illum natura esse voluit, speciosus ex horrido, cuius hic decor est, non sine timore adspici, praefertur illi languido et bracteato. Nemo gloriari nisi suo debet. 7. Vitem laudamus, si fructu palmites onerat, si ipsa pondera ad terram eorumque tulit, adminicula deducit. Num quis huic illam praeferret vitem, cui aureae uvae, aurea folia dependent? Propria virtus est in vite fertilitas: in homine quoque id laudandum est, quod ipsius est. Familiam formosam habet et domum pulchram, multum serit, multum fenerat: nihil horum in ipso est, sed circa ipsum. 8. Lauda in ipso, quod nec eripi potest nec dari, quod proprium hominis est. Quaeris quid sit? Animus et ratio in animo perfecta. Rationale enim animal est homo: consummatur itaque eius bonum, si id inplevit, cui nascitur. Quid est autem, quod ab illo ratio haec exigit? Rem facillimam; secundum naturam suam vivere. Sed hanc difficilem facit communis insania: in vitia alter alterum trahimus: quomodo autem revocari ad salutem possunt, quos nemo retinet, populus inpellit? Vale.

EPISTULA LXXXVI.

SENECA LUCILIO SUO SALUTEM.

In ipsa Scipionis Africani villa iacens haec tibi scribo adoratis manibus eius et arca, quam sepulchrum esse tanti viri suspicor. Animum quidem eius in coelum, ex quo erat, redisse persuadeo mihi, non quia magnos exercitus duxit (hos enim et Cambyzes furiosus ac furore feliciter usus habuit), sed ob egregiam moderationem pietatemque, quam magis in illo admiror, cum reliquit patriam, quam cum defendit. Aut Scipio Romae deesse debebat aut Roma in libertate. 2. *Nihil, inquit, volo derogare legibus, nihil institutis: aequum inter omnes cives ius sit: utere sine me beneficio meo, patria: causa tibi libertatis fui, ero et argumentum. Exeo, si plus tibi quam expedit, crevi.* Quidni ego admirer hanc magnitudinem animi, qua in exilium voluntarium secessit et civitatem exoneravit? Eo perducta res erat, ut aut libertas Scipioni aut Scipio libertati faceret iniuriam. Neutrum fas erat: itaque locum dedit legibus et se Liternum recepit tam suum exilium reipublicae inputaturus quam Hannibalis. 3. Vidi villam structam lapide quadrato, murum circumdatum silvae, turres quoque in propugnaculum villae utrimque subrectas, cisternam aedificiis ac viridibus subditam, quae sufficere in usum vel exercitus posset, balneolum angustum, tenebricosum ex consuetudine antiqua (non videbatur maioribus nostris caldum nisi obscurum). 4. Magna ergo me voluptas subiit contemplantem mores Scipionis ac nostros. In hoc angulo ille Carthaginis horror, cui Roma debet, quod tantum semel capta est, abluebat corpus laboribus rusticis fessum: exercebat enim opere se terramque, ut mos fuit priscis, ipse subigebat. Sub hoc ille tecto tam sordido stetit: hoc illum pavementum tam vile sustinuit. 5. At nunc quis est, qui sic lavari sustineat? pauper sibi videtur ac sordidus, nisi parietes magnis et preti-

osis orbibus refulserunt, nisi Alexandrina marmora Numidicis crustis distincta sunt, nisi illis undique operosa et in picturae modum variata circumlitio praetexitur, nisi vitro absconditur camera, nisi Thasius lapis, quondam rarum in aliquo spectaculum templo, piscinas nostras circumdedit, in quas multa sudatione corpora exsaniata demittimus, nisi aquam argentea epitonia fuderunt. 6. Et adhuc plebeias fistulas loquor: quid, cum ad balnea libertinorum pervenero? quantum statuarum, quantum columnarum est nihil sustinentium, sed in ornamentum positarum impensae causa! quantum aquarum per gradus cum fragore labentium! Eo deliciarum pervenimus, ut nisi gemmas calcare nolinus. In hoc balneo Scipionis minimae sunt rimae magis quam fenestrae muro lapideo exsectae, ut sine iniuria munimenti lumen admitterent. 7. At nunc blattaria vocant balnea, si qua non ita aptata sunt, ut totius diei solem fenestris amplissimis recipiant, nisi et lavantur simul et colorantur, nisi ex solio agros et maria prospiciunt. Itaque quae concursum et admirationem habuerant, cum dedicarentur, in antiquorum numerum reiciuntur, cum aliquid novi luxuria commenta est, quo ipsa se obrueret. 8. At olim et pauca erant balnea nec ullo cultu exornata: cur enim ornaretur res quadrantaria et in usum, non oblectamentum reperta? Non subfundebatur aqua nec recens semper velut ex calido fonte currebat; nec referre credebant, in quam perlucida sordes deponerent. Sed, di boni, quam iuvat illa balnea intrare obscura et gregali tectorio inducta, quae scires Catonem tibi aedilem aut Fabium Maximum aut ex Corneliis aliquem manu sua temperasse? 9. Nam hoc quoque nobilissimi aediles fungebantur officio intrandi ea loca, quae populum receptabant, exigendique munditias et utilem ac salubrem temperaturam, non hanc, quae nuper inventa est similis incendio, adeo quidem, ut convictum in aliquo scelere servum vivum lavari oporteat. Nihil mihi videtur iam interesse, ardeat balneum an calcet. Quantae nunc aliquis rusticitatis damnat Scipionem, quod non in caldarium suum latis specularibus diem admiserat? quod non in multa luce decoquebatur et exspectabat, ut in balneo concoqueret. 10. O hominem calamitosum! nesciit vivere. Non

saccata aqua lavabatur, sed saepe turbida et, cum plueret vehementius, paene lutulenta: nec multum eius intererat, an sic lavaretur: veniebat enim ut sudorem illic ablueret, non ut unguentum. Quas nunc quorundam futuras voces credis? Non invideo Scipioni: vere in exilio vixit, qui sic lavabatur. Immo, si scias, non cotidie lavabatur. 11. Nam, ut aiunt, qui priscos mores Urbis tradiderunt, brachia et crura cotidie abluebant, quae scilicet sordes opere collegerant: ceterum toti nundinis lavabantur. Hoc loco dicet aliquis: Liqueat mihi immundissimos fuisse. Quid putas illos oluisse? Militiam, laborem, virum. Postquam munda balnea inventa sunt, spurciores sunt. 12. Descripturus infamem et nimiis notabilem deliciis Horatius Flaccus quid ait?

Pastillos Rufillus olet.

Dares nunc Rufillum: perinde esset, ac si hircum oleret. Gorgonii loco esset, quem idem Horatius Rufillo obposuit. Parum est sumere unguentum, nisi bis die terque renovatur, ne evanescat in corpore. Quid, quod hoc odore tamquam suo gloriantur? 13. Haec si tibi nimium tristia videbuntur, villae inputabis, in qua didici ab Aegialo, diligentissimo patrefamiliae (is enim huius agri nunc possessor est), quamvis vetus arbustum posse transferri. Hoc nobis senibus discere necessarium est, quorum nemo non olivetum alteri ponit: quod vidi illum arborum trimum et quadrimum fastidiendi fructus autumnio deponere. 14. Te quoque proteget illa, quae

Tarda venit, seris factura nepotibus umbram,

ut ait Vergilius noster, qui non quid verissime, sed quid decentissime diceretur adspexit nec agricolas docere voluit, sed legentes delectare. 15. Nam, ut alia omnia transeam, hoc quod mihi hodie necesse fuit deprehendere, adscribam:

*Vere fabis satio est: tunc te quoque, medica, putres
Accipiunt sulci et milio venit annua cura.*

An uno tempore ista ponenda sint et an utriusque verna sit satio, hinc aestimes licet. Iunius mensis est, quo tibi scribo,

iam proclivus in Iulium : 16. eodem die vidi fabam metentes, milium serentes. Ad olivetum revertar, quod vidi duobus modis dispositum. Magnarum arborum truncos circumcisis ramis et ad unum redactis pedem cum rapo suo transtulit amputatis radicibus, relicto tantum capite ipso, ex quo illae penderant. Hoc fimo tinctum in scrobem demisit ; deinde terram non adgessit tantum, sed calcavit et pressit. 17. Negat quicquam esse hac, ut ait, spissatione efficacius : videlicet frigus excludit et ventum : minus praeterea movetur et ob hoc nascentes radices prodire patitur ac solum adprehendere, quas necesse est cereas adhuc et precario haerentes, levis quoque revellat agitatio : parum autem arboris, antequam obruat, radix. Ex omni enim materia, quae nudata est, ut ait, radices exeunt novae. 18. Non plures autem super terram eminere debet truncus quam tres aut quatuor pedes : statim enim ab imo vestietur nec magna pars quemadmodum in olivetis veteribus arida et retorrída erit. Alter ponendi modus hic fuit : ramos fortes nec corticis duri, quales esse novellarum arborum solent, eodem genere deposuit. Hi paulo tardius surgunt ; sed cum tamquam a planta processerint, nihil habent in se horridum aut triste. 19. Illud etiam nunc vidi, vitem ex arbusto suo annosam transferri : huius capillamenta quoque, si fieri potest, colligenda sunt : deinde liberalius sternenda vitis, ut etiam ex corpore radicescat. Et vidi non tantum mense Februario positas ; sed etiam Martio exacto tenent et complexae sunt non suas ulmos. Omnes autem istas arbores, quae, ut ita dicam, grandiscapiae sunt, ait aqua adiuvandas cisternina ; quae si prodest, habemus pluviam in nostra potestate. Plura te docere non cogito ne, quemadmodum Aegialus me sibi adversarium paravit, sic ego parem te mihi. Vale.

EPISTULA CVII.

SENECA LUCILIO SUO SALUTEM.

Ubi illa prudentia tua? ubi in dispiciendis rebus subtilitas? ubi magnitudo? Tam pusilla te res angit? Servi occupationes tuas occasionem fugae putaverunt. Si amici deciperent? (habeant enim sane nomen, quod illis noster Epicurus inposuit, et vocentur, quo turpius desint omnibus rebus tuis) desunt illi, qui et operam tuam conterebant et te aliis molestum esse credebant. 2. Nihil horum insolitum, nihil inexpectatum est. Offendi rebus istis tam ridiculum est quam queri, quod spargaris in publico aut inquineris in luto. Eadem vitae condicio est, quae balnei, turbae, itineris: quaedam in te mittentur, quaedam incident. Non est delicata res vivere. Longam viam ingressus es: et labaris oportet et arietes et cadas et lasseris et exclames: *O mors!* id est mentiaris. Alio loco comitem relinques, alio efferes, alio timebis. Per eiusmodi offensas emetiendum est confragosum hoc iter. Mori vult? 3. Praeparetur animus contra omnia: sciat se venisse, ubi tonat fulmen: sciat se venisse ubi

Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia curae

Pallentesque habitant morbi tristisque senectus.

In hoc contubernio vita degenda est. Effugere ista non potes: contemnere potes: contemnes autem, si saepe cogitaveris et futura praesumpseris. 4. Nemo non fortius ad id, cui se diu composuerat, accessit et duris quoque, si praemeditata erant, obstitit. At contra inparatus etiam levissima expavit. Id agendum est, ne quid nobis inopinatum sit: et quia omnia novitate graviora sunt, hoc cogitatio adsidua praestabit, ut nulli sis malo tiro. 5. Servi me reliquerunt. Alium compilarunt, alium accusaverunt, alium occiderunt, alium prodiderunt, alium calcaverunt, alium veneno, alium criminatione pe-

tierunt. Quicquid dixeris, multis accidit. Deinceps, quae multa et varia sunt in nos diriguntur. Quaedam in nos fixa sunt, quaedam vibrant et cum maxime veniunt, quaedam in alios perventura nos stringunt. 6. Nihil miremur eorum, ad quae nati sumus, quae ideo nulli querenda, quia paria sunt omnibus. Ita dico, paria sunt: nam etiam quod effugit aliquis, pati potuit: aequum autem ius est non quo omnes usi sunt, sed quod omnibus latum est. Imperetur aequitas animo et sine querela mortalitatis tributa pendamus. Hiems frigora adducit: algendum est: aestas calores refert: aestuandum est. 7. Intemperies coeli validitudinem temptat: aegrotandum est. Et fera nobis aliquo loco occurret et homo perniciosior feris omnibus. Aliud aqua, aliud ignis eripiet. Hanc rerum condicionem mutare non possumus: id possumus, magnum sumere animum et viro bono dignum, quo fortiter fortuita patiamur et naturae consentiamus. 8. Natura autem hoc, quod vides, regnum mutationibus temperat. Nubilo serena succedunt: turbantur maria, cum quieverunt: flant invicem venti: noctem dies sequitur: pars coeli consurgit, pars mergitur: contrariis rerum aeternitas constat. Ad hanc legem animus noster aptandus est: hanc sequatur, huic pareat: et quaecumque fiunt, debuisse fieri putet nec velit obiurgare naturam. 9. Optimum est pati, quod emendare non possis, et deum, quo auctore cuncta proveniunt, sine murmuratione comitari. Malus miles est, qui imperatorem gemens sequitur. Quare inpigri atque alacres excipiamus imperia nec deseramus hunc operis pulcherrimi cursum, cui quicquid patimur, intextum est. 10. Et sic adloquamur Iovem, cuius gubernaculo moles ista dirigitur, quemadmodum Cleanthes noster versibus disertissimis adloquitur, quos mihi in nostrum sermonem mutare permittitur Ciceronis, disertissimi viri, exemplo. Si placuerint, boni consules: si displicuerint, scies me in hoc secutum Ciceronis exemplum.

11. *Duc, o parens celsique dominator poli,
 Quocumque placuit: nulla parendi mora est.
 Adsum inpiger. Fac nolle, comitabor gemens
 Malusque patiar, quod pati licuit bono.
 Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt.*

Sic vivamus, sic loquamur: paratos nos inveniat atque ingros fatum. Hic est magnus animus, qui se deo tradidit: at contra ille pusillus et degener, qui obluctatur et de ordine mundi male existimat et emendare mavult deos quam se. Vale.

EPISTULA CXVIII.

SENECA LUCILIO SUO SALUTEM.

Exigis a me frequentiores epistulas. Rationes conferamus: solvendo non eris. Convenerat quidem, ut tua priora essent: tu scriberes, ego rescriberem. Sed non ero difficilis: bene credi tibi scio: itaque in antecessum dabo. Nec faciam, quod Cicero, vir disertissimus, facere Atticum iubet, *ut, etiam si rem nullam habebit, quod in buccam venerit, scribat*. 2. Numquam potest deesse, quod scribam, ut omnia illa, quae Ciceronis implent epistulas, transeam: *quis candidatus laboret: quis alienis, quis suis viribus pugnet: quis consulatum fiducia Caesaris, quis Pompeii, quis arcae petat: quam durus sit fenerator Caecilius, a quo minoris centesimis propinqui nummum movere non possint*. Sua satius est mala quam aliena tractare, se excutere et videre, quam multarum rerum candidatus sit, et non suffragari. 3. Hoc est, mi Lucili, egregium, hoc securum ac liberum, nihil petere et tota fortunae comitia transire. Quam putas esse iucundum tribubus vocatis, cum candidati in templis suis pendeant et alius nummos pronuntiet, alius per sequestrem agat, alius eorum manus osculis conterat, quibus designatus contingendam manum negaturus est, omnes adtoniti vocem praeconis expectant, stare otiosum et spectare illas nundinas nec ementem quicquam nec vendentem? 4. Quanto hic maiore gaudio fruitur, qui non praetoria aut consularia comitia securus intuetur, sed magna illa, in quibus alii honores anniversarios petunt, alii perpetuas potestates, alii bellorum eventus prosperos triumphosque, alii divitias, alii matrimonia ac liberos, alii salutem suam suorumque! Quanti animi

res est solum nihil petere, nulli supplicare et dicere: *Nihil mihi tecum, fortuna. Non facio mei tibi copiam: scio apud te Catones repelli, Vatinios fieri: nihil rogo.* Hoc est privatam facere fortunam. 5. Licet ergo haec invicem scribere et hanc integram semper egerere materiam circumspicientibus tot milia hominum inquieta, qui ut aliquid pestiferi consequantur, per mala nituntur in malum petuntque mox fugienda aut etiam fastidienda. Cui enim adsecuto satis fuit, quod optanti nimium videbatur? 6. Non est, ut existimant homines, avida felicitas, sed pusilla: itaque neminem satiat. Tu ista credis excelsa, quia longe ab illis iaces: ei vero, qui ad illa pervenit, humilia sunt. Mentior, nisi adhuc quaerit escendere: istuc, quod tu summum putas, gradus est. Omnes autem male habet ignorantia veri. 7. Tamquam ad bona feruntur decepti rumoribus: deinde mala esse aut inania aut minora quam speraverint, adepti ac multa passi vident: maiorque pars miratur ex intervallo fallentia et volgo magna pro bonis sunt. Hoc ne nobis quoque eveniat, quaeramus, *quid sit bonum.* Varia eius interpretatio fuit: alius illud aliter expressit. 8. Quidam ita finiunt: *Bonum est quod invitat animos, quod ad se vocat.* Huic statim obponitur: Quid? si invitat quidem, sed in perniciem? seis quam multa mala blanda sint. Verum et verisimile inter se differunt. Ita quod bonum est, vero iungitur: non est enim bonum nisi verum est: at quod invitat ad se et adlice facit, verisimile est: subripit, sollicitat, adtrahit. 9. Quidam ita finierunt: *Bonum est, quod adpetitionem sui movet: vel, quod inpetum animi tendentis ad se movet.* Et huic idem obponitur: multa enim inpetum animi movent, quae petantur potentium malo. Melius illi, qui ita finierunt: *Bonum est, quod ad se inpetum animi secundum naturam movet et ita demum petendum est.* Cum coepit esse expetendum, iam et honestum est: hoc enim est perfecte petendum. 10. Locus ipse me admonet, ut, *quid intersit inter bonum honestumque,* dicam. Aliquid inter se mixtum habent et inseparabile: nec potest bonum esse, nisi cui aliquid honesti inest, et honestum utique bonum est. Quid ergo inter duo interest? *Honestum est perfectum bonum, quo beata vita completur, cuius contactu*

alia quoque bona fiunt. Quod dico, tale est: sunt quaedam neque bona neque mala, tamquam militia, legatio, iurisdictio. 11. Haec cum honeste administrata sunt, bona esse incipiunt et ex dubio in bonum transeunt. *Bonum* societate honesti fit, *honestum* per se bonum est. Bonum ex honesto fluit, honestum ex se est. Quod bonum est malum esse potuit: quod honestum est, nisi bonum esse non potuit. Hanc quidam finitionem reddiderunt: *Bonum est quod secundum naturam est*. Adtende, quid dicam: quod bonum est secundum naturam est: non protinus quod secundum naturam est etiam bonum est. 12. Multa naturae quidem consentiunt, sed tam pusilla sunt, ut non conveniat illis boni nomen. Levia enim sunt, contemnenda: nullum est minimum contemnendum bonum. Nam quamdiu exiguum est, bonum non est: cum bonum esse coepit, non est exiguum. Unde agnoscitur bonum? si *perfecte secundum naturam* est. 13. Fateris, inquis, quod bonum est secundum naturam esse: haec eius proprietas est: fateris et alia secundum naturam quidem esse, sed bona non esse. Quomodo ergo illud bonum est, cum haec non sint? quomodo ad aliam proprietatem pervenit, cum utrique praecipuum illud commune sit, secundum naturam esse? Ipsa scilicet magnitudine. 14. Nec hoc novum est quaedam crescendo mutari. Infans fuit, factus est pubes: alia eius proprietas fit: ille enim irrationalis est, hic rationalis. Quaedam incremento non tantum in maius exeunt, sed in aliud. Non fit, inquit, aliud, quod maius fit: utrum lagenam an dolium inpleas vino, nihil refert: in utroque proprietas vini est: et exiguum mellis pondus ex magno sapore non differt. Diversa ponis exempla: in istis enim eadem qualitas est: quamvis augeantur, manent. 15. Quaedam amplificata in suo genere et in sua proprietate perdurant: quaedam post multa incrementa ultima demum vertit adiectio et novam illis aliamque quam in qua fuerunt, condicionem inprimit. Unus lapis facit fornicem, ille, qui latera inclinata cuneavit et interventu suo vinxit. Summa adiectio quare plurimum facit vel exigua? Quia non auget, sed inplet. Quaedam processu priorem exuunt formam et in novam transeunt. 16. Ubi aliquid animus diu protulit et magnitudinem eius sequendo lassa-

tus est, *infinitem* coepit vocari: quod longe aliud factum est quam fuit, cum magnum videretur, sed finitum. Eodem modo aliquid difficile secari cogitavimus: novissime crescente hac difficultate *insecabile* inventum est. Sic ab eo quod vix et aegre movebatur processimus ad *immobile*. Eadem ratione aliquid *secundum naturam* fuit: hoc in aliam proprietatem magnitudo sua transtulit et *bonum* fecit. Vale.

EPITAPHIUM SENECAE.

Cura, labor, meritum, sumpti pro munere honores,

Ite, alias post hanc sollicitate animas!

Me procul a vobis deus evocat: illicet actis

Rebus terrenis hospita terra vale!

Corpus avara tamen solemnibus accipe saxis.

Namque animam coelo reddimus, ossa tibi.

L. ANNAEI SENECAE
EPIGRAMMATA SUPER EXILIO.

I. AD CORSICAM.

Corsica Phocaico tellus habitata colono,
Corsica, quae patrio nomine Cyrnus eras,
Corsica Sardinia brevior, porrectior Ilva,
Corsica piscosis pervia fluminibus,
Corsica terribilis, cum primum incanduit aestas,
Saevior, ostendit cum ferus ora canis,
Parce relegatis, hoc est, iam parce sepultis :
Vivorum cineri sit tua terra levis.

II. DE EADEM.

Barbara praeruptis inclusa est Corsica saxis,
Horrida, desertis undique vasta locis.
Non poma autumnus, segetes non educat aestas,
Canaque Palladio munere bruma caret.
Umbrarum nullo ver est laetabile foetu,
Nullaque in infausto nascitur herba solo.
Non panis, non haustus aquae, non ultimus ignis :
Hic sola haec duo sunt, exsul et exsilium.

III. QUERELA.

Occisi iugulum quisquis scrutaris amici,
Tu miserum necdum me satis esse putas ?
Desere confossum : victori vulnus iniquo
Mortiferum inpressit mortua saepe manus.

IV. ITEM.

Quisquis es,—et nomen dicam : dolor omnia cogit—
Qui nostrum cinerem nunc, inimice, premis
Et non contentus tantis subitisque ruinis
Stringis in extinctum tela cruenta caput :
Crede mihi, vires aliquas natura sepulchris
Attribuit : tumulos vindicat umbra suos.
Ipsos crede deos hoc nunc tibi dicere, livor,
Hoc tibi nunc manes dicere crede meos :
Res est sacra, miser. Noli mea tangere fata.
Sacrilegae bustis abstinuere manus.

V. ITEM.

Carmina mortifero tua sunt suffusa veneno,
Et sunt criminibus pectora nigra magis.
Nemo tuos fugiat, non vir, non femina dentes,
Haud puer, haud aetas undique tuta senis,
Utque furens totas immittit saxa per urbes
In populum, sic tu verba maligna iacis.
Sed solet insanos populus compescere sanus,
Et repetunt motum saxa remissa caput.
In te nunc stringit nullus non carmina vates,
Inque tuam rabiem publica Musa furit.
Dum sua compositus nondum bene concutit arma
Miles, it e nostra lancea torta manu.
Bellus homo, et valide capitalia carmina ludis,
Deque tuis manant atra venena iocis.
Sed tu perque iocum dicis vinumque : quid ad rem,
Si plorem, risus si tuus ista facit ?
Quare tolle iocos : non est iocus esse malignum.
Numquam sunt grati, qui nocuere sales.

VI. AD AMICUM.

Crispe, meae vires, lassarumque ancora rerum,
Crispe, vel antiquo conspiciende foro :
Crispe potens numquam, nisi cum prodesse volebas,
Naufragio littus tutaque terra meo,

Solus honor nobis arx et tutissima nobis
 Et nunc afflicto sola quies animo :
 Crispe, fides dulcis, placidique acerrima virtus,
 Cuius Cecropio pectora melle madent :
 Maxima facundo vel avo vel gloria patri,
 Quo solo careat si quis, in exilio est :
 An tua, qui iaceo saxis telluris adhaerens,
 Mens mecum est, nulla quae cohibetur humo?

VII. DE QUALITATE TEMPORIS.

Omnia tempus edax depascitur, omnia carpit,
 Omnia sede movet, nil sinit esse diu.
 Flumina deficient, profugum mare littora siccant,
 Subsident montes et iuga celsa ruunt.
 Quid tam parva loquor? moles pulcherrima coeli
 Ardebit flammis tota repente suis.
 Omnia mors poscit. Lex est, non poena, perire :
 Hic aliquo mundus tempore nullus erit.

VIII. VOTUM.

Sic mihi sit frater maiorque minorque superstes,
 Et de me doleat nil nisi morte mea.
 Sic illos vincam, sic vincar rursus amando :
 Mutuus inter nos sic bene certet amor.
 Sic dulci Marcus, qui nunc sermone fritinnit,
 Facundo patruos provocet ore duos.

IX. AD CORDUBAM.

Corduba solve comas et tristes indue voltus :
 Inlacrimans cineri munera mitte meo.
 Nunc longinqua tuum deplora, Corduba, vatem,
 Corduba, non alio tempore moesta magis :
 Tempore non illo, quo versi viribus orbis
 Incubuit belli tota ruina tibi,
 Cum geminis oppressa malis utrimque peribas :
 Et tibi Pompeius, Caesar et hostis erat.

Tempore non illo, quo ter tibi funera centum
 Heu nox una dedit, quae tibi summa fuit.
 Non, Lusitanus quateret cum moenia latro,
 Figeret et portas lancea torta tuas.
 Ille tuus quondam magnus, tua gloria, civis
 Infigar scopulo. Corduba solve comas,
 Et gratare tibi, quod te natura supremo
 Alluit oceano : tardius ista doles.



Coin of Agrippina, wife of Claudius, mother of Nero. (It was through her
 that Seneca was recalled from exile: Introduction, p. 14.) From the British
 Museum.

EPISTULAE SENECAE, NERONIS IMPERATORIS
MAGISTRI, AD PAULUM APOSTOLUM ET
PAULI APOSTOLI AD SENECAM.*

S. HIERONYMUS DE SENECA IN CATALOGO SANCTORUM.

Lucius Annaeus Seneca Cordubensis, Sotionis stoici discipulus et patruus Lucani poetae, continentissimae vitae fuit, quem non ponerem in catalogo sanctorum, nisi me epistulae illae provocarent, quae leguntur a plurimis, Pauli ad Senecam et Senecae ad Paulum. In quibus, cum esset Neronis magister et illius temporis potentissimus, optare se dicit eius esse loci apud suos, cuius sit Paulus apud Christianos. Hic ante biennium quam Petrus et Paulus martyrio coronarentur, a Nerone interfectus est.

EPISTULA I.

SENECA PAULO SALUTEM.

Credo tibi, Paule, nunciatum esse, quod heri [de te] cum Lucilio nostro de apocryphis et aliis rebus sermonem habuerimus. Erant enim quidam disciplinarum tuarum comites mecum. Nam in hortos Salustianos secesseramus, quo loco occasione nostra alio tendentes hi, de quibus dixi, visis nobis adiuncti sunt. Certe quod tui praesentiam optavimus, et hoc scias volo : libello tuo lecto, id est de plurimis aliquas litteras quas ad aliquam civitatem seu caput provinciae direxisti, mira exhortatione vitam moralem continentes, usque refecti sumus.

* See Introduction, pp. 34, 35.

Quos sensus non puto ex te dictos sed per te, certe aliquando ex te et per te : tanta enim maiestas earum est rerum tantaque generositate calens, ut vix suffecturas putem aetates hominum, quibus institui perficique possint. Bene te valere, frater, cupio.

EPISTULA II.

SENECAE PAULUS SALUTEM.

Litteras tuas hilaris heri accepi, ad quas rescribere statim potui, si praesentiam iuvenis, quem ad te eram missurus, habuissem. Scis enim, quando et per quem et quo tempore et cui quid dari committique debeat. Rogo ergo, non putes [te] neglectum, dum personae qualitatem respicio. Sed quod litteris meis vos bene acceptos alicubi scribis, felicem me arbitror tanti viri iudicio. Neque enim hoc diceres, censor, sophista, magister tanti principis et iam omnium, nisi quia vere dicis. Opto te diu bene valere.

EPISTULA III.

SENECA PAULO SALUTEM.

Quaedam volumina ordinavi et divisionibus suis statum eis dedi. Ea quoque Caesari legere sum destinatus. Si modo sors prospere annuerit, ut novas afferat aures, eris forsan et tu praesens : sin, alias reddam tibi diem, ut hoc opus invicem inspiciamus. Et possem non prius edere ei eam scripturam, nisi prius tecum conferam, si modo [etiam] impune hoc fieri potuisset, ut scires non te praeteriri. Vale.

EPISTULA IV.

PAULUS SENECAE SALUTEM.

Quotiescunque litteras tuas audio, praesentiam tui cogito nec aliud existimo quam omni tempore te nobiscum esse. Cum primum itaque venire coeperis, invicem nos et de proximo videbimus. Bene te valere opto.

EPISTULA V.

SENECA PAULO SALUTEM.

Nimio tuo secessu angimur. Quid est? vel quae res te remo[ra]tum faciunt? si indignatio dominae, quod a ritu et secta veteri recesseris et alios rursum converteris, erit postulandi locus, ut ratione factum, non levitate hoc existimetur.

EPISTULA VI.

SENECAE ET LUCILIO PAULUS SALUTEM.

De his, quae mihi scripsistis, non licet arundine et atramento eloqui, quarum altera res notat et designat aliquid, altera evidenter ostendit, praecipue cum sciam inter vos esse, hoc est apud vos et in vobis, qui me intelligant. Honor omnibus habendus est et tanto magis, quanto indignandi occasionem captant. Quibus si patientiam demus, omni modo eos ex quaqua parte vincemus, si modo hi sunt, qui poenitentiam sui gerant. Bene valete.

EPISTULA VII.

ANNAEUS SENECA PAULO ET THEOPHILO SALUTEM.

Profteor bene me acceptum lectione litterarum tuarum, quas Galatis, Corinthiis, Achaeis misisti, et ita invicem vivamus, ut etiam cum horrore divino esse exhibes. Spiritus enim sanctus in te et super te excelsus sublimiores sanctis venerabiles sensus exprimit. Vellem itaque, cures et cetera, ut maiestati earum cultus sermonis non desit. Et ne quid tibi, frater, surripiam aut conscientiae meae debeam, confiteor Augustum sensibus tuis motum. Cui lecto virtutis in te exordio ista vox fuit: mirari eum posse, ut qui non legitime imbutus sit, taliter sentiat. Cui ego respondi, solere deos ore innocentium effari, haud eorum, qui praevaricare doctrina sua quid possint. Et dato ei exemplo Vatiens hominis rusticuli, cui viri duo apparuissent in agro Reatino, qui postea Castor et Pollux sunt nominati, satis instructus videtur. Vale.

EPISTULA VIII.

PAULUS SENECAE SALUTEM.

Licet non ignorem Caesarem nostrarum rerum admiratorem, si quando deficiet amatorem esse, permittes tamen te non laedi sed admoneri: puto enim te graviter fecisse, quod ei in notitiam perferre voluisti id, quod ritui et disciplinae eius sit contrarium. Cum enim ille gentium deos colat, quid tibi visum sit, ut hoc scire cum velles, non video, nisi nimio amore meo facere te hoc existimo. Rogo de futuro, ne id agas. Cavendum est enim, ne dum me diligis, offensum dominae facias, cuius quidem offensa neque oberit, si perseveraverit, neque, si non sit, proderit: si est regina, non indignabitur, si mulier est, offendetur. Bene vale.

EPISTULA IX.

SENECA PAULO SALUTEM.

Scio te non tam tui causa commotum litteris, quas ad te de editione epistolarum tuarum Caesari feci, quam natura [ipsarum] rerum, quae ita mentes hominum ab omnibus artibus et moribus rectis revocat, ut non hodie admirer, quippe [ut] qui multis documentis hoc iam notissimum habeam. Igitur nove agamus, et si quid facile in praeteritum factum est, veniam irrogabis. Misi tibi librum de verborum copia. Vale Paule carissime.

EPISTULA X.

SENECAE PAULUS SALUTEM.

Quotiescunque tibi scribo et nomen meum tibi subsequendo, gravem et sectae meae incongruentem rem facio. Debeo enim, ut saepe professus sum, cum omnibus omnia esse et id observare in tua persona, quod lex Romana honori senatus concessit, perlecta epistola ultimum locum eligere, ne cum aporia et dedecore cupiam [illud] efficere, quod mei ar-

bitrii fuerit. Vale, devotissime magister. Data quinto Calendarum Iulii Nerone IV et Messala consulibus.

EPISTULA XI.

SENECA PAULO SALUTEM.

Ave mi Paule carissime. Si mihi nominique meo vir tantus et dilectus omnibus modis non dico fueris iunctus sed necessario mixtus, optime actum erit de Seneca tuo. Cum sis igitur vertex et altissimorum omnium montium cacumen, non ego vis laeter, si ita sim tibi proximus, ut alter similis tui deputer? Haud itaque te indignum prima facie epistolarum nominandum censeas, ne tam temptare me quam ludere videaris, quippe cum scias civem esse te Romanum. [Uti]nam qui meus, tuus apud te locus, qui tuus, velim ut meus. Vale mi Paule carissime. Data X. Cal. April. Aproniano et Capitone consulibus.

EPISTULA XII.

SENECA PAULO SALUTEM.

Ave mi Paule carissime. Putasne me haud contristari et non luctuosum esse, quod de innocentia vestra subinde supplicium sumatur? dehinc quod tam duros tamque obnoxios vos reatui omnis populus iudicet, putans a vobis effici, quidquid in urbe contrarium fit? Feramus aequo animo et utamur foro, quod sors concessit, donec invicta felicitas finem malis imponat. Tulit et priscorum aetas Macedonem Philippi filium et post Darium Dionysium. Nostra quoque Gaium Caesarem, quibus quicquid libuit, licuit. Incendium urbs Romana manifeste saepe unde patiatur, constat. Sed si effari humilitas potuisset humana, quid causae sit, et impune in his tenebris loqui liceret, iam omnes omnia viderent. Christiani et Iudaei quasi machinatores incendii affecti supplicio uri solent. Grasator iste, quisquis est, cui voluptas carnificina est et mendacium velamentum, tempori suo destinatus est. Ut optimus quisque unum pro multis donatum est caput, ita et hic devo-

tas pro omnibus igni cremabitur. Centum triginta duae domus, insulae quatuor [in] sex diebus arsere, septimus pausam dedit. Bene te valere frater opto. Data quinto Cal. April. Frugi et Basso consulitus.

EPISTULA XIII.

SENECA PAULO SALUTEM.

[Ave mi Paule carissime.] Allegorice et aenigmatice multa a te usquequaque opera concluduntur et ideo rerum tanta vis et muneris tibi tributa non ornamento verborum sed cultu quodam decoranda est. Nec vereare, quod saepius te dixisse retineo, multos, qui talia affectent, sensus corrumpere, virtutes rerum evirare. Ceterum mihi concedas velim latinitati morem gerere, honestis vocibus speciem adhibere, ut generosi muneris concessio digne a te possit expediri. Bene vale. Data V. Non. Iul. Leone et Sabino consulibus.

EPISTULA XIV.

PAULUS SENECAE SALUTEM.

Perpendenti tibi ea sunt revelata, quae paucis divinitas concessit. Certus igitur ego in agro iam fertili semen fortissimum sero, non quidem materiam, quae corrumpi videtur, sed verbum stabile, dei derivamentum crescentis et manentis in aeternum. Quod prudentia tua assecuta [est], indeficiens fore debebit, ethnicorum Israelitarumque observationes censere vitandas. Novum te auctorem feceris Iesu Christi praeconiis ostendendo rhetoricis irreprehensibilem sophiam, quam propemodum adeptus regi temporali eiusque domesticis atque fidis amicis insinuabis quibus aspera et incapabilis erit persuasio, cum plerique illorum minime flectantur insinuationibus tuis. Quibus vitale commodum sermo dei instillatus, novum hominem sine corruptela perpetuamque animam parit ad deum istinc properantem. Vale Seneca carissime nobis. Data Cal. Augusti Leone et Sabino consulibus.

NOTES.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES.

A. & G., Allen & Greenough's Latin Grammar.

A. & S., Andrews & Stoddard's Latin Grammar.

absol., absolute.

ad Att., ad Atticum.

ad Fam., ad Familiares.

Ann., Annales, Annals.

Ars Amat., Ars Amatoria.

Ars Poet., Ars Poetica.

B. & M., Bullion & Morris's Latin Gram.

Bell. Gall., Bellum Gallicum.

Brut., Brutus.

Catil., Catiline.

cf., confer, consult.

Cic., Cicero.

Class. Dict., Classical Dictionary, Anthon's or Smith's.

De Benef., De Beneficiis.

De Brev. Vit., De Brevitate Vitae.

De Civ. Dei, De Civitate Dei.

De Clem., De Clementia.

De Consol. ad Helv., De Consolatione ad Helviam.

De Consol. ad Marc., De Consolatione ad Marciam.

De Consol. ad Polyb., De Consolatione ad Polybium.

De Const. Sap., De Constantia Sapientis.

De Fin., De Finibus.

De Leg., De Legibus.

De Offic., De Officiis.

De Orat., De Oratore.

De Otio Sap., De Otio Sapientis.

De Prov., De Providentia.

De Rer. Nat., De Rerum Natura.

De Senect., De Senectute.

De Stoic. repug., De Stoicorum repugnantiiis.

De Tranq., De Tranquillitate Animi.

De Vit. Beat., De Vita Beata.

Dict. Antiq., Dictionary of Antiquities.

dimin., diminutive.

Diog. Laert., Diogenes Laertius.

e. g., exempli gratia, for example.

Epig., Epigram.

Epit., Epitome.

Florileg., Florilegium.

Georg., Georgics.

Germ., Germania.

H., Harkness's Latin Grammar.

Hor., Horace.

i. e., id est, that is.

impf., imperfect.

impers., impersonal.

in M. Anton., in M. Antonium.

in Verr., in Verrem.

Instit. Div., Institutiones Divinae.

Juv., Juvenal.

Lips., Lipsius.

M., Madvig's Latin Grammar.

Memor., Memorabilia.

n., note.

Nat. Quaest., Natural Questions.

Odys., Odyssey.

partit., partitive.

pers., personal.

Physiol. Stoic., Physiologia Stoicorum

Plut., Plutarch.

post-Ang., post-Angustan.

pred., predicate.

Quint., Quintilian.

relat., relative.

Sat., Satire.

Saturn. Conviv., Saturnalia Convivia.

subst., substantive.

Suet., Suetonius.

Tac., Tacitus.

Tiber., Tiberius.

Trist., Tristitia.

Tusc. Disp., Tusculan Disputations.

v. l., varia lectio, various reading.

vid., vide, see.

Virg., Virgil.

viz., videlicet, namely.

Xenoph., Xenophon.

Z., Zumpt's Latin Grammar.

NOTES.

FICKERT gives the title of DIALOGUES to nine of the shorter philosophical and ethical treatises of Seneca, quoting Quintilian, *De Institutione Oratoria*, x. 1, 129, and Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, v. 19, 8. Haase, in the Teubner edition of Seneca's Works, adopts the same title, making the number of dialogues to be twelve. They are, however, in no usual or proper sense of the word, dialogues, such as Plato and Cicero wrote, but are rather treatises or moral essays addressed to different individuals, and enlivened by occasional questions and answers, somewhat after the manner of personal discussions.

DE PROVIDENTIA.

ARGUMENTUM.—I. Seneca affirms that there is a providence, i. e. a ruler and director of the world, and he argues that this must be so from the movement, order, and constancy of all things. One special point, however, his friend Lucilius complains of, viz., "that evils fall upon good men." Seneca, leaving the general topic, devotes himself to this, and says that the deity loves good men, and so does not send evils upon them to punish them, but as a father, to correct and restrain them. II. Those are not really evils which happen to good men, since evils cannot fall upon these and overcome them. Evils are to be looked upon as chastenings and exercise for good men, just as the athletes are trained for victory in the public games. Cato's example is adduced, and his praise celebrated. III., IV. He now proceeds to give his reasons why evils happen to the good. First, it is for their benefit upon whom they fall, as medicine is given to the sick, and to harden them and render them fit for the contest with the world. V. Next, he shows that evils come upon all men; hence the good being thus treated by the deity is a proof that the vulgar notion in regard to good and evil things is false. His third reason is, that good men willingly accept what is sent upon them, for they offer themselves freely to god and fate. As a fourth

reason, he avows that fate exists from eternity, and has fixed all things by an eternal decree. VI. Finally, he repeats that these are not really evils; good men are born and trained for exemplars to others; and he brings in the deity, exhorting in a lofty strain, and arousing to strength and endurance. Stoic-like, Seneca's last words are, If it tries you too much to bear these ills of life, who holds you back? The door is open: go forth.

Cap. I.—1. Lucili: Lucilius Junior, procurator of Sicily, was the friend to whom Seneca addresses, not only this treatise, but also his "Epistles" and "Natural Questions." He is generally thought to have been the author of a poem of some note, entitled "Aetna," in which an attempt is made to account, on philosophical principles, for the physical phenomena presented by the volcano. Very little is known of his life and career. Cf. *Epist.* 79.—**ita, si, M. 442 a.—accidere:** Lips. and others read *acciderent*, the subj. being the mood used in indirect, dependent questions; H. 529, M. 356.—**in contextu operis**, in the progress of (i. e. in another part of) the work. Some critics suppose that a separate work is here referred to.—**cum praeesse . . . nobis deum:** this language implies both a general and special providence, in accordance with the fuller and clearer Christian view.—**contradictionem**, post-Aug., *objection*, viz., if there is a providence, why do so many evils befall good men?—**manente lite integra**, the primary question remaining untouched, viz. whether there is a providence?—**agam**, *I will plead*, used in a forensic sense.

2. non sine aliquo . . . stare: in *Epist.* 31 reference is made to the omnipotence of the deity: "God, the most high and powerful, himself upholdeth (*vehit*) all things." Cf. Heb. i. 3, "Upholding all things by the word of his power."—**fortuiti inpetus:** in opposition to the Epicurean "fortuitous concurrence of atoms."—**et quae casus**, etc. The argument is, that in those things which are the result of chance there is no order, no consistency; that, on the other hand, in the *mundus* (κόσμος) all things happen according to law, and consistently; therefore, they are not the result of chance, but are directed by an overruling mind and purpose.—**cito arietare** = *incurrere in se et inpedire*, Lips. This

word, *arietare*, is frequently used by Seneca in the sense of *impeding* or *hindering*; cf. *De Tranq.* 1, 7, N.; *De Vit. Beata*, 8, 5; *Epist.* 56, 13. The meaning seems to be derived from the manner in which rams make their attacks upon each other with their horns, or from the use of a battering-ram in demolishing walls in a siege.—**inoffensam**, *uninterrupted*.—**aeternae legis** = fate or providence, according to the Stoic idea.—**dispositore**: cf. *dispositor ille mundi deus*, *Nat. Quaest.* v. 18, 5; also, Lactantius, *Instit. Div.* iv. 9. The whole passage reminds one of the Psalmist's words, "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handiwork." Haase reads, *disposito reluctantium*.—**non esse . . . ordinem**. See note above, on *fortuiti inpetus*.—**ut . . . sedeat . . . spectet**, etc., result clauses.—**nec ullum . . . sentiant**, i. e. on account of evaporation and absorption; cf. *Eccles.* i. 7, "All the rivers run into the sea," etc.

3. **illa**, subject of *accidunt*.—**elisorum**, poet. expression.—**incendia . . . effusa**, cf. *Virg. Georg.* i. 472.—**tumultuosa**, *tempestuous, restless*.—**alienis**, *strange, unusual*.—**miraculo**, v. l. *miracula*.—**calentes aquae**: cf. *Pliny, Nat. Hist.* ii. 106, where mention is made of hot springs whose waters were esteemed beneficial to health.—**nova insularum . . . spatia**, cf. *Nat. Quaest.* vi. 21, 1, where is recorded the appearance of an island in the midst of the Aegean Sea in Seneca's time. Cf. also *Pliny, Nat. Hist.* ii. 86, 89; iv. 12: *Livy, Historia*, xxxix. 56.—4. **pelago in se recedente**, i. e. at ebb-tide; *pelago* is frequently used in post-Aug. prose in the sense of *mari*.—**eadem . . . operiri**, i. e. at flood-tide.—**volutatione**, post-Aug. in sense of *restlessness, disquiet*; cf. *De Brev. Vit.* 2, 3.—**ad horam ac diem**, *at a certain hour and day*.—**subeunt=funt**.—**lunare sidus**, i. e. the moon.—**suo . . . reserventur**, i. e. the exposition of those phenomena in nature which do not take place fortuitously, but are governed by fixed laws.—**ista**, difference between *iste, ille, hic*? Cf. *Ramshorn's Latin Synonyms*, 509.—**quaeris**: H. C. Michaelis thinks that the following sentence (*in gratiam*, etc.) indicates some ground of complaint against providence on the part of the person addressed; hence he prefers the reading *quereris*, which has some MS. authority,

5. optimos, sc. *viros*.—**immo** . . . **similitudo**: in Seneca's *Epistles* these ideas are frequently expressed and enlarged upon; cf. 41, 1, 2; 73, 16; etc.—**necessitudo**, post-Aug., very strong expression.—**aemulator**, *follower*.—**vera progenies**, cf. Ps. lxxxvi. 6; 1 John iv. 3; iii. 1, 2; truly one would almost affirm, says Muretus, that this man had handled and tasted of the sacred Word. See INTROP. to the present vol. p. 26.—**6. escendere**, stronger than *ascendere*; cf. *De Tranq.* 15, 17.—**vernularum**, post-Aug. These were slaves born in the master's house; they were considered valuable for this reason, and are termed by Horace (*Sat.* ii. 6, 66) *vernas procaces*, saucy, impudent slaves. Cf. Becker's "Gallus," p. 202.—**experitur** . . . **parat**: cf. Heb. xii. 6; 1 Cor. iv. 17.

II.—1. Nihil . . . **mali**: an emphatic reply to the opening question of the chapter; as if he had said, "adversity, I acknowledge, may befall good men, but evil never." A Stoical paradox, and affording but small comfort in time of trouble.—**tauta** . . . **fontium**, so great abundance of medicinal fountains, i. e. impregnated with iron, sulphur, etc.—**ne** . . . **quidem**: many prefer *nec*, as being more usual in later writers, and often found in Seneca.—**in suum colorem trahit**: he gives to everything the coloring of his own character; i. e. himself a good man, he turns everything to good account. As the red wine assimilates added drops of other color, so the good man, etc., Lips.—**nec hoc dico, non sentit illa**: insensibility to affliction, Seneca would say, is a vice, though that has been considered one of the moral principles of the Stoics. Lips. says that this apathy, or utter indifference to all external things, belongs to the school of Stilpo, the Megarian. Cf. Zeller's "Socrates and Socratic Schools," p. 236. Plato is reported as saying to a person who, nude in the middle of winter, was embracing a marble column for the sake of exhibiting endurance, "if you feel, you act foolishly; if you do not feel, you do nothing noble."

2. modo = *dummodo*, if only.—**fortissimis quibusque**: *quisque* is often used in a universal or general relation in connection with the superl., which always precedes it, M. 495.—**per quos**: how does *per* with *accus.* differ from *ab* with *ablat.*? M. 254, obs.

3.—obiciuntur, i. e. *objiciuntur*; cf. § 9, N.—**3. licet**, with subj., M. 361.—**boni consulant**, *let them take it in good part, be contented with it.*—**aliter . . . aliter** = *dissimiliter*, rarely used in this sense.—**indulgeant**, a peculiarly appropriate word in reference to love of parents for their children. Cf. *Consol. ad Helv.* 14, 3; 16, 6.—**ad studia obeunda**: for force of gerundive here, cf. H. 544, notes; B. & M. 1338.—**feriatis diebus**: for the holidays, which were very numerous, cf. *feriae*, Dict. of Antiq.—**sudorem**, in the gymnastic exercises.—**umbra**, in opposition to *sudorem*; cf. Cic. *Brut.* 9.

4. Patrium deus habet . . . animum: "like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him," Ps. ciii. 13.—**illos fortiter et . . . inquit**, etc.: "whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth," Heb. xii. 6; vid. other parts of the same chapter.—**motu**, v. l. *mole*.—**de genu pugnat**, alluding to a combatant who has been wounded in his lower limbs, and yet continues to fight on his knees. Cf. *Epist.* 66, 47.—**5. Miraris si**, A. & G. 333 b. R.—**exerceantur**, subj. of purpose, H. 497; B. & M. 1212; M. 363 a.—**spectant di**: some read *spectandi*.—**interritus**, cf. Martial, *Epig.* xv., xxiii., xxvii.—**honestior**, cf. *Epist.* 99, 12; *Nat. Quaest.* vii. 31.

6. ista, cf. 1, 4, N.—**puerilia**, some read *sed* before *puerilia*.—**respiciat**, subj. after *dignum*, M. 363 b; H. 503, 2; B. & M. 921; A. & G. 320 f.—**operi suo**, the universe, the works of the Creator, towards which his attention is always directed.—**ecce par deo dignum**, *behold a pair of champions worthy the attention of a god.*—**conpositus**, *paired, matched*, a common expression with reference to gladiators.—**quam ut spectet**, subj. is used with compar. after *quam qui, quam ut*, when the degree is defined and modified by a sentence implying an innate quality and consequence, Z. 560; A. & G. 320 c; H. 49, 62.—**Catonem**, Cato the younger, a man of many noble qualities. See Class. Dict.—**partibus . . . fractis**, alluding to the defeat of Pompey and the republicans at Pharsalia, and the final overthrow in Africa.—**7. Licet**, cf. § 3, N.—**inquit**, i. e. Cato. His soliloquy extends to the middle of the next section, *quam vitam*.—**concesserint, custodiantur . . . obsideat**, subj. after *licet*, H. 515, III.; B. & M. 1282.

8. Petreius et Iuba: Petreius was a Roman general at the battle of Thapsus (B.C. 46), when the Pompeian party suffered their final defeat. Iuba was son of Hiempsal, the restored king of Numidia, a supporter of Pompey. When he heard of the death of Cato, it is said that he turned his sword upon Petreius, who had been the companion of his flight, and then despatched himself. Seneca makes his death to have occurred previous to that of Cato, but other writers give it as above stated.—**fati conventio**, a compact between them, *super fato*, about or in regard to their fate, Lips. Cf. *De Ira*, iii. 26, 4.—**nostram**, i. e. emphatically, for *meam*, referring to Cato's dignity and loftiness of soul.—**mihi**, i. e. Seneca.—**studia . . . tractat**: it is said by Plutarch that he read the *Phædo* of Plato, on the immortality of the soul.—**contaminaretur**, cf. § 6, note on *respiciat*.

9. revocata: in the games and gladiatorial shows and stage plays, one who had approved himself to the people was frequently recalled.—**difficiliore parte**, etc. The gladiator who had acquitted himself well before the people was then matched with a more robust antagonist.—**inicitur**, i. e. *inicitur*. The prevailing spelling now is, in compounds of *jaceo*, to drop the *j* after the preposition; cf. § 2, *obiciuntur*.—**repetitur**, alluding to the circumstances of Cato's death. After having stabbed himself in the breast, his wounds were dressed by his friends; when, however, he recovered consciousness, he sought death a second time by tearing off the bandages, and letting his entrails protrude.—**tam claro . . . exitu**. The Stoic doctrine of suicide is often extolled by Seneca; yet, with a sort of happy inconsistency, he sometimes shows that he appreciates the value and sacredness of human life by injunctions hardly compatible with the usual Stoic doctrine. Cf. *Epist.* 47, 9, 10, etc. Suicide, it is to be borne in mind, is at best but a cowardly thing; and the Stoic's praise of it shows what a compound of pride and audacity that philosophy is which teaches that self-murder is a glorious thing, and to be imitated by all who so choose.

III.—1. procedente oratione, in the process of my discourse.—**pro ipsis**, for the good of those very persons; cf. Heb. xii. 11.—**adiciam**, cf. 2, 9, note, *inicitur*.—**persuadebo**, etc. This last propo-

sition is not taken up at the close of the discourse. Through some mishap, it seems not to have survived the ravages of time.—

2. proici, cf. 2, 9, N.—**deduci**: Lips. (with whom H. C. Michaelis agrees) puts a comma after *deduci*; this allows *liberos* to be construed with *ecferre*, and the wise man is thus represented as manifesting his greatness of mind under the severest trials—poverty and the loss of wife and children.—**ignominia**, cf. *De Ira*, i. 16, 2.—**radi ossa**, i. e. with the scalpel.—**legi**, cf. *in capite lecta ossa* (sunt), *De Benef.* v. 24, 3.—**extrahi venas**: a learned writer, in reference to this passage, says that in certain diseases, as *varix* or a dilated vein, the veins were taken out; but it is probable, as Lips. holds, that the expression is used, by metonymy, for extraction of blood from the veins. Cf. Celsus, *De Medicina*, vii. 31.

3. Demetrii: Demetrius of Sunium, a Cynic philosopher, and pupil of the sophist Rhodius. He became distinguished as a teacher of this philosophy at Corinth. He lived during the reigns of the emperors Caligula to Domitian inclusive, and was banished from Rome because of the freedom with which he re-proved men in power and office. Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 16, 34; *De Benef.* vii. 8, 2.—**Nihil**, etc.: a similar saying of Bias, one of the seven sages, is recorded: ἔλεγεν ἀτυχῇ τὸν ἀτυχίαν μὴ φέροντα.—**Ut . . . fluxerint . . . ut**, *although*, etc.; *ut* takes this meaning from a suppositional force, “even if we suppose the case.” For subj., cf. A. & G. 266 c; M. 440 a, Obs. 4; H. 515, III.; B. & M. 1283.—**male**, *unfavorably*, or *badly*.—**vinceretur**, for subj., cf. 2, 6, N. *respiciat*.—**quasi dicat**: the words of *fortuna* extend from *quid ergo* to *vinci parato*.—**4. quemque**, cf. 2, 2, N. *quisque*.

5. Mucio: C. Mucius Scaevola, who, having been threatened with burning by king Porsenna during his siege of Rome (B.C. 507), thrust his right hand into the fire, and let it burn without flinching. He received the name of Scaevola, or left-handed, from this circumstance; vid. Livy, ii. 12, 13; Plutarch's *Publicola*; *Epist.* 66, 51, 53.—**Fabricio**, vid. Plutarch's *Pyrrhus*, and Class. Dict.; cf. also § 9, N. *tormenti*.—**Rutilio**: P. Rutilius Rufus, a Roman statesman and orator, who was unjustly banished (B.C. 92) on a charge of malversation; vid. Livy, *Epit.* lib. lxx.; Valerius Maximus, ii. 10.—**regem**, i. e. Porsenna.—**exusta**, sc. *manu*.

6. quod rus suum . . . fodit? *because he cultivated his land*

while not engaged in public duties?—**tam . . . quam**, often to be used in inverted order; hence here read as if written, *tam cum divitiis quam cum Pyrrho*. Cf. *De Ira*, i. 12, 4.—**cum divitiis**, cf. *Epist.* 120, 6.—**triumphalis senex**, alluding to his victory over the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians, B.C. 282; cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 3.—**aucupia**, i. e. *aves captas*, by metonymy, abstract for concrete.—**esset, si . . . congereret?** In conditional sentences when does the impf. subj. refer to past time? A. & G. 308 a; H. 510 note 2.—**si . . . erigerit**, *if he had stimulated the weakness*, etc.; cf. *Nat. Quaest.* iv. 13, 7.—**pomorum strue . . . feras**, etc. Reference is especially to the boar, which was generally the chief dish of a grand *coena*. It was brought whole to the table, and placed in the centre, with fruits, vegetables, and other dishes surrounding. The cooking of the boar was an expensive affair. Cf. Becker's "Gallus," p. 133; Guhl & Koner's "The Life of the Greeks and Romans," p. 504; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 6–9.—**pomorum = obsoniorum**.

7. **qui illum damnaverunt**. The equestrian order, who were both the farmers of the revenue and sole judges in criminal cases, accused and condemned Rutilius, because, while *legatus*, he had incurred their hostility by his efforts towards repressing their extortion in the province of Asia.—**causam . . . seculis**, i. e. shall never be acquitted of injustice.—**sibi exilium**, sc. *eripi*. He refused to return to Rome at the invitation of Sulla.—**solus aliquid**, cf. *Epist.* 24, 4.—**sed longius fugit?** He first retired to Mitylene, and afterwards to Smyrna.—**inquit**, i. e. Rutilius, whose answer to Sulla extends to the end of the section.—**felicitas**, a play on the word, from the cognomen *Felix*, in which Sulla especially delighted.—**Servilianum lacum**, a place contiguous to the Basilica Julia, near the forum, where many of those proscribed by Sulla were slain, and their heads exposed.—**spoliarium**, cf. *Epist.* 93, 12.—**vagantis**, i. e. *vagantes*; more recent orthography adopts the termination *tis* for *tes*.—**multa milia**, seven thousand, says Seneca, *De Clem.* i. 12, 2. Cf. Plutarch's *Sulla*.—**post fidem**, *after a pledge of protection had been given*.—**per ipsam fidem**, he had induced them, after surrendering, to come without arms.

8. **gladio submovetur**: Sulla was accompanied, not by the lictors with their rods, but by a body-guard of soldiers with

their swords.—**pretium caedis**: two talents for each of the proscribed, according to Plutarch. A talent was worth about \$1200.—**per quaestorem . . . numerat**, i. e. he caused the reward to be paid from the public treasury. The number slaughtered is not accurately known, but it probably amounted to many thousands.—**legem Corneliam**: the *lex de sicariis et veneficis* was enacted B.C. 82. One of its provisions was against a magistratus or senator who conspired in order that a person might be condemned in a *judicium publicum*, etc. The punishment inflicted by this law upon the convicted offender was, according to some, *interdictio aquae et ignis*; according to others, *deportatio in insulam et bonorum ademptio*. Cf. Dict. Antiq.—**tulit**: towards the close of B.C. 81 Sulla was appointed dictator. It was while he was absolute master of the Roman world that the horrors of the *proscriptio* occurred.—**clavi**, cf. *De Tranq.* 15, 7.—**volneri**: writers of the silver age frequently employ effect for cause, *volnus* here being used for *clavi volnerantes* by metonymy. Tacitus has a similar expression, *volnera dirigebant*, i. e. *tela volnerantia* (*Hist.* ii. 35). Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, x. 140.

9. tormenti: on this story of Regulus, Mommsen remarks: "Nothing is known with certainty as to the end of Regulus; even his mission to Rome—which is sometimes placed in B.C. 503, sometimes in 513—is very imperfectly attested. The later Romans, who sought in the fortunes and misfortunes of their forefathers mere materials for school themes, made Regulus the type of heroic misfortune, as they made Fabricius the type of heroic poverty, and circulated a number of anecdotes, invented by way of due accompaniment in his name—incongruous embellishments, contrasting ill with serious and sober history" ("Hist. of Rome," ii. 59).—**quam non poeniteat**, *how far he is from repenting*.—**eandem sententiam dicet**, i. e. that prisoners should not be exchanged with the Carthaginians, although he was a prisoner himself.—**Maecenatem**, the minister and friend of Augustus, the patron of Virgil and Horace, etc.; vid. Class. Dict.—**cui**: post-Aug. writers use almost any form of the passive with the dat. of the agent, instead of the ablat. with *ab*; with this difference, however, that the dat., with the present tense, denotes that the action is done for the interest of the agent; with the perf.

and pluperf., that it exists for him as completed. Cf. H. 388, 2, 3; B. & M. 845; M. 250 a; A. & S. 127 c.—**uxoris**: Terentia, the wife of Maecenas, was said to have been the favorite mistress of Augustus, and consequently to have caused serious coldness between the emperor and her husband. Notwithstanding her infidelity and looseness of morals, Maecenas continued deeply enamoured with her until his death. Her temper was morose, and frequent quarrels occurred; but they seldom lasted long, owing to Maecenas's passionate fondness for her. These numerous petty quarrels and reconciliations drew from Seneca (*Epist.* 114, 6) the remark, that Maecenas married a wife a thousand times, though he never had but one.—**aquarum fragoribus**, *the noise* (pleasing, of course) *of water*, admitted, according to Lipsius, by some device into their very sleeping apartments. Seneca frequently refers to ponds and channels of water in the houses of wealthy and luxurious Romans; as in *Nat. Quaest.* iii. 17, 2: "fishes swim in the chamber, and under the very table fish are taken, that are immediately dressed and served." Cf. *Epist.* 100, and *De Tranq.* 1, 5, *N. aquas*, etc.—**ille**, i. e. *Regulus*.—**ad causam** . . . **respicit**, *submissively he has respect to the cause* of his sufferings.

10. Non usque eo, *not to so great an extent*.—**adeat**, for subj., cf. H. 501, 1.; B. & M. 1218, 1227; A. & G. 320 a.—**iste**, cf. 1, 4, *N. ista*.—**taceat**, for subj. with *licet*, cf. 2, 3, *N.*—**paulatim frigore inducto**, i. e. *from his extremities upwards*; cf. the *Phaedo* of Plato at its close.—**11. Quanto . . . est**, etc., *how much is he to be envied*, etc.—**illis**, sc. *invidendum est*.—**gemma**, vessels and drinking-cups ornamented with precious stones and gold were quite frequent. Cf. Becker's "Gallus," p. 29; Guhl & Koner's "The Life of the Greeks and Romans," p. 451; *De Benef.* vii. 9, 3.—**ministratur**, *impers.* In earlier Latin the pers. construction would be preferred, *qui ministrantur*.—**quibus**, *dat.*, cf. *De Brev. Vit.* 17, 1, *N. fortunae*.—**exoletus**, said of beautiful, full-grown youths devoted to that shocking form of prostitution alluded to by St. Paul, *Rom.* i. 27. Cf. Martial, *Epig.* iii. 82, 5, etc. Plautus uses the term *scortum exoletum*, a male prostitute.—**auro** = *aureo poculo* by metonymy, a golden cup.—**nivem diluit**, *snow is here said to be mixed with wine*, instead of (as in English) *wine with snow*.

Cf. *Epist.* 78, 23: "O unhappy rich man! Wherefore? Because he mixes not snow with his wine."—**vomitu**, referring to the disgusting practice of eating and drinking to excess, then vomiting, and then beginning again their gluttony.—**Quod ad Catonem pertinet**, *as touching Cato*; literally, *that which pertains to Cato*.—**rerum natura**, i. e. the *deus* of the Stoics; cf. Zeller's "Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics," pp. 147-149.—**collideret**, subj. of purpose, H. 497; B. & M. 1212.

12. Inimicitiae, etc. These words, to the end of the section, are supposed to be uttered by *natura*, i. e. *deus* (as above).—**Vatinio**: P. Vatinus, a leading tool of the triumvirate in the party strifes of the last days of the republic. Possessed of no principle, he sold his services to Caesar, when he was tribune of the people, B.C. 59. Six years later, through the combined influence of the triumvirs, he was chosen praetor instead of Cato. In personal appearance he was forbidding and repulsive, and Cicero, alluding to this fact, called him *struma civitatis*. Cf. Class. Dict.—**sibi manus adferre**? cf. 2, 9, N. on suicide of Cato.—**consequar**? *what shall I (deus) effect by these things?*—**quibus**, dependent on *dignum*; cf. H. 421, III.; B. & M. 919.

IV.—1. vilia ingenia, *mean abilities* or *low station*, such as are not worthy of trials, which belong only to the great, according to Seneca.—**calamitates**, cf. Virg. *Georg.* ii. 491, 2.—**morsu animi**, *vexation of mind*.—**ignorare est**, Z. 597.—**rerum . . . partem**, *another part of nature*, i. e. the other side of human life, viz. suffering. It is intimated that nature consists of diversities—joys, sorrows, etc.—**2. Olympia**, the Olympic games, the greatest national festival of the Greeks, celebrated at Olympia in Elis. Vid. Class. Dict.—**sed nemo praeter te**, a good illustration of Seneca's conciseness of style; cf. 3, 9, *refice (tu) illum et mitte*, instead of, *si reficias illum et si mittas*, etc.—**coronam**, the olive wreath, the prize in the Olympic games.—**una**, Lips. proposes *vivam*.—**ostenderet**, subj. in relative clause; cf. 3, 11, N. *collideret*.

3. Miserum . . . miser: cf. 3, 3, and N. on Demetrius and his saying.—**potueris**, sc. *facere*.—**ne tu quidem ipse**, sc. *scies quid potueris*, *you will not even know yourself*, etc. *Ips*e is attached to the nom. when it is intended to express what the subject *itself*

does, but it is attached to the pers. or reflex pron. when it is indicated that the action is exerted upon the subject, and not on other persons. Cf. M. 489, obs. 2 b; Arnold's Latin Prose Comp. 368 b.—**ad notitiam**: observe the exceptional use of *ad* with a noun to express purpose, a usage not allowed in earlier Latin; cf. M. 242, obs. 3.—**quid quisque . . . didicit**, freely, *no man has ever learned his own powers except by trial*.—**nisi**, often joined to negatives in sense of *but* or *except*, M. 442, obs. 2.—**virtuti**: observe prolepsis in position and construction of this word.

4. Gaudent, etc. Lips. quotes from Stobaeus the words of Diogenes the Cynic, who, having fallen into certain troubles, exclaimed, "Well done, O Fortune! thou hast treated me like a man," and he sang and rejoiced.—**inquam**. Seneca quite frequently introduces this word to give additional force to an assertion; cf. *Epist.* 90, 27.—**milites bellis triumphant**. Haase reads, *milites bellis: Triumphum*, connecting the last word with the following sentence; it is then a proper name.—**murmillonem . . . querentem**. Lips. gives, from the dissertations on Epictetus, bk. i., a statement that there were some among the gladiators of Caesar who were incensed because they were never matched with foes equal to them.—**Avida** = *audax*, Lips.—**meliori casu**, some prefer *causa*, but it may be explained *clementiore fortuna*, to which it is due that the wounds are not deadly; cf. Virg. *Aeneid*, xii. 179, 296.—**licet**, *although*, rarely used by good writers as a conjunc., but more frequently with its verbal permissive sense; cf. M. 361, obs. 1; also 2, 3, N.

5. Ipsis . . . consulit, cf. Z. 414.—**inquam**, cf. N. above, § 4.—**quam**, with superl., cf. B. & M. 1003.—**ad quam rem**, *for the accomplishment of which*; cf. § 3, N. *ad notitiam*.—**si divitiis diffuis?** This was a nice question for Seneca himself, who was enormously rich. See INTRODUCTION, p. 21; *De Vit. Beat.* 17, 1, N.; 21, 3, N.—**Unde possum scire, quantum**, etc. H. C. Michaelis characterizes the repetition, *possum scire*, as unworthy of Seneca's vigor and elegance of style; he thinks the repeated words should be omitted. Cf. *De Benef.* iv. 6, 3.—**populare** = *popularium*, associates, compatriots, etc.—**sequitur**, *is accustomed to follow*.—**6. si . . . vides?** *if you always see those whom you have begotten*; cf. Dict. Antiq. on this subject.—**quis**, for *aliquis*; cf. Z. 708.—**tranquilli-**

tas iners = *malacia*, a dead calm, in allusion to the detention of a ship by a calm.

7. **inciderit**, fut. perf.—**grave est**, etc. Lips. reads, *grave est tenerae cervici iugum*; and Pincian, *grave est ferre teneris cervicibus iugum*.—**venturis malis**, evils yet to come.—**sua**, one's own.—8. **dilatus est**, is deferred, a reference to the postponement of gladiatorial shows, or the appearance of a particular gladiator, not a release or dismissal from service.—**aut luctu**: Fickert omits these words, which, on the whole, we have thought best, with Haase, to retain.—**qui . . . adgrediantur . . . explorent . . . deiciant**, why subj.? cf. 3, 11, N. *collideret*.—**deiciant** = *dejiciant*; cf. 2, 9, N. *inicitur*.—**quia . . . imperantur**: some read *quare* for *quia*, making the sentence interrogative.—**Male . . . meruit**, the general has not treated me ill.—**permadescunt**, cf. *Epist.* 20, 11; also Plautus (*Mostellaria*, i. 2, 63), who uses the same figure in reference to love.—**nisi aliquid intervenit quod . . . admoneat**, unless something happen to admonish of the human condition, i. e. the state of human life.

9. **Quem**, relat. to *hunc*, below.—**specularia**, cf. *Epist.* 86, 11; *Juv. Sat.* iv. 20.—**parietibus circumfusus**: a reference to hot-air pipes encased in the walls, by means of which heat was conveyed through the houses. In Seneca's time the use of hot-air or vapor baths was also quite frequent. Cf. *Balneae*, *Dict. Antiq.*; also *Epist.* 86, where Seneca pours out his indignant contempt upon the luxury of the times.—**excesserunt modum**: observe use of the perf. to denote what is always true. In such cases the action of the subordinate is generally supposed to be antecedent to that of the principal sentence; cf. *M.* 335 b, obs. 1.—**felicitatis intemperantia**, unlimited prosperity.

10. **advocata virtute**: Lips. and others read, *quae advocat ad virtutem*.—**Lenior ieiunio mors est**: a disputed passage. Lips. would insert *e* before *ieiunio*, and prefers *levior* to *lenior*. He holds that the meaning is, that death is rendered comparatively easy after long fasting and abstinence, such as Atticus and others practised. In our text *ieiunio* is an ablat. of means.—**cruditate dissiliunt**: reference seems to be to the latter part of the comparison above, *infinitis . . . rumpi*: *dissiliunt*, post-Aug., sc. *aegri*, or dyspeptics.—**Numquid**, cf. *M.* 451 b; *H.* 351.—

patres adhortantur, etc. Tertullian (*Ad Martyras*, 3) bears witness to this fact even in his day.—**ut . . . perferant . . . perseverent**: on the use of *ut* with subj., or of the infin., cf. Z. 615, 616; M. 389.—**volnera praeberere volneribus**, *to receive wounds upon wounds*, i. e. to offer for new wounds the already lacerated flesh. The Spartan boys were taken to the altar of Artemis Orthia to receive the customary διαμαστιγώσεις, or severe flogging, which was so terrible at times as to draw much blood, and even cause death; cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* ii. 14.

11. patimur: Haase and others read *patiamur*.—**Solidissima corporis pars**, etc. So the proverb of Hippocrates, κίνησις γὰρ κρατύνει, ἀργίη δὲ τήκει.—**Praebendi**: on the gerundive with *sum*, cf. M. 420.—**faciat**, v. l. *faciet*.—**contemptum**, post-Aug.; cf. *De Tranq.* 11, 4.—**ad excutienda tela**: it is said that the ancient veterans acquired such skill as to hurl their weapons with a force and to a distance almost incredible.—**quoque**: difference between *quōque* and *quodque*? cf. M. 495, 471; Z. 355.—**12. Romana pax** = Roman empire.—**Istrum**, or the lower part of the Danube.—**gentium**, i. e. the nations beyond the rule and limits of the empire.—**Perpetua hiems**, etc., a view far from correct as to the Germans, but nearer the truth in respect to the remote Scythians; vid. Tacitus, *Germania*.—**culmo**, vid. Lexicon, under *columen*.—**in alimentum**: observe use of *in* to express purpose.

13. Nulla illis domicilia: the Germans indeed had no fixed residences or towns; nevertheless they possessed homes, though they exchanged lands yearly, as Caesar states concerning the *Suevi* (*Bell. Gall.* iv. 1); cf. also Tacitus, *Germania*.—**in diem**, referring to the Sarmatians, etc.—**et hic**, used similarly to *et is*, for more precise and emphatic definition, M. 484 c.—**intecta corpora**: Caesar says that the Germans used skins for clothing, but that the greater part of the body was naked; cf. Tac. *Germania*, 17.—**14. nisi**: after a negative proposition, *nisi* introduces an exception; cf. M. 442, obs. 3; also n. § 3.

V.—1. Adice nunc, quod: this is the usual formula of Seneca when he begins a new argument; cf. *De Const. Sap.* 9, 2; *De Otio Sap.* 32, 17; *De Vit. Beat.* 7, 1: *adice* = *adjice*, cf. 2, 9, n.—**optimum quemque**, *all the best*. The sing. of *quisque* with superl. is gener-

ally used for plur. when the noun is not expressed; cf. M. 495.—**ut ita dicam**, so to speak or say.—**militare**, be soldiers.—**edere operas**, do service; cf. 2, 7; *Epist.* 29, 6. Good men perform good service for others by endurance of affliction.—**tribuerit . . . in-rogaverit**: these words are in contrast in meaning; the former signifies, to bestow some good; the latter, to impose or inflict some evil.—**Appius**: Appius Claudius, surnamed Caecus, because he became blind in his old age, was censor B.C. 312. The most enduring monuments of his censorship were the Appian Way to Capua, and the Appian Aqueduct. By his earnest eloquence he persuaded the senate to refuse the terms of peace offered by Pyrrhus; vid. Livy, ix. 29; Cic. *De Senec.* 6.—**Metellus**: L. Metellus Pontifex, twice consul, dictator B.C. 205, and active in the war with Hannibal. He lost his eyes at the burning of the temple of Vesta; cf. *De Brev. Vit.* 14, 2; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 45.

2. **Elius**, some vile character, of whom there is no mention elsewhere.—**cum in templis consecraverint**: Seneca also says, *pecunia in templis sacrata*, not as a divinity probably, but as a votive offering of gold and silver. Images also of gods and goddesses, made of precious metals, were consecrated in temples. Augustine holds that *pecunia* was a goddess (*De Civitate Dei*, iv. 21, 5).—**traducere**, to expose to contempt and ridicule.—**At iniquum**: an objector is supposed to complain of the injustice of the prosperity of evil men and the afflictions of good men.—**constringi**. Lips. prefers *configi*, on the ground that *adligari* immediately following is similar to *constringi*.—3. **Quid porro?** What then?—**fortes viros . . . vulneribus**: for severity of Roman military life, see Dict. Antiq. and 4, 4, n.—**praecisos** = *lascivious*. In post-Aug. writers *praecisus* usually means *castrated*; some read *percisos*, which refers to a horrible pollution among the heathen.—**nobilissimas virgines** = *vestales*.—**consultitur**, is in council.—**campo** = *Campus Martius*.—**in hac magna republica**, in this great republic of humanity, or the world at large.—**inpendunt**: *operam, curas, ingenium, inpendant*; so Cic. in *Verr.* ii. 30, 68.—**inpenduntur**, i. e. the good not only devote their all to others, but suffer themselves, and are even destroyed; cf. *Cons. ad Helv.* 16, 17; also Tertullian, *Apol.* 44, concerning the slaughter of the Christians under the sanction of the state.

4. *Hanc . . . vocem, this speech.*—*Demetrii*, probably Demetrius of Sunium; cf. 3, 3, x.—*totum*, i. e. *totum corpus*.—*nullam moram faciam*, etc., *I will not delay you at all from receiving back what you have given.*—*maluisssem offerre quam tradere*: a clear intimation of Stoic teaching concerning suicide, following which is the paradoxical doctrine about destiny.—*opus fuit*: with *opus est* the thing needed may be an infin., or an accus. with infin.; H. 421, notes 1 & 2; B. & M. 927.—*accipere potuistis*, i. e. by commanding it.—*retinenti*, v. l. *venienti*.—*dicta lege*, by a fixed law, i. e. of fate.—5. *prima nascentium hora disposuit*: cf. the sentiment of Manilian, *nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet.*—*veniunt*, i. e. events are not merely the result of chance, but take place in accordance with an immutable decree.—6. *ad hoc parati sumus*, for this we were destined. Michaelis suggests *parati sumus*, as more suitable to the context, and the question, *quid lingue? parati*, will then have the ordinary meaning, *prepared or ready.*—*Quicquid est quod*, etc. The following thought contains the substance of the Stoic paradox, in which the First Cause is represented as subject to secondary causes. Seneca's teaching in other places quite closely resembles Christian doctrine on this point.—*scripsit*: in accordance with the fancy that Jupiter dictated his decrees to the fates for them to record.

7. *Non potest . . . materiam*: it was a Stoic dogma that the origin of evils is in matter itself; cf. Lips. in his "Physiol. Stoic." i. Dissert. 14, where he treats of this subject at large; also Zeller's "Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics," p. 181, note.—*artifex*, i. e. the Stoic *deus* or *ratio*.—*haec passa est*: cf. on this teaching of the Stoics, *Epist.* 65, 2; *Nat. Quaest.* i. (*prolog.*) 2, 3; *Diog. Laert.* vii. 134: *hæc*, Haase reads *hæc*.—*elementis*, cf. *De Ira*, ii. 18, 19.—*ut efficiatur . . . dicendus*, to produce a man who must be mentioned with consideration.—*fortiore fato opus est*: antithetic to the thought above, *linguida . . . inertibus*, etc. To make the antithesis complete, the *fortius ratum* must be regarded as belonging to *acrioribus elementis*, or as arising from them; Lips.—*eat*, subj. after *oportet*, without *ut*: when used to signify duty, *oportet* always has accus. with infin.; M. 373, obs. 1.

8. *quæ*, antecedent *ea*, understood = *talia*.—*illi*, i. e. *virtus*: dat. with gerundive, H. 388; B. & M. 1310.—*Ardua prima via est*,

etc. This comparison respecting the difficult course of virtue is drawn from Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 63, etc. Sol is endeavoring to dissuade the impetuous Phaëthon from his desire to drive the chariot of the sun, by depicting the dangers and difficulties of the undertaking. We give the passage in verse by Dr. Lodge, of London (translator of Seneca's Works, 1614), rather for its novelty than accuracy or poetic merit:

"The first which with unwearied steeds I clime,
Is such a journey, that their ceaseless toyle
Can scarcely reach before the morrowes prime;
The next is highest heau'n, from whence the soyle
And spacious seas, I see with dreadfull eye
And fearefull heart; the next whereto I hie,
Is steep and prone, and craues a cunning guide;
And then doth TURTIS shake herselfe for dread,
Lest headlong I should fall and downward glide,
And burie in her waues my golden head."

—*recentes*, *fresh*, because of rest during the night.—*Enituntur*, *labor up*.—*pavida*, the effect which *formido* produces.—*moderamine certo*, *steady guidance*.—*Tethys*, put for the *sea*. She was the wife of Oceanus and mother of the Oceanides. The sea seems to receive the sun when setting, and the sun seems to emerge from it when rising; hence the poet says, Tethys received Sol in the evening, and opened the gates for him in the morning.

9. *Haec cum . . . casuro*: these are Seneca's words, not the poet's; so, after the next quotation, the interpretation and use made of the lines are from Seneca.—*casuro*, concessive, *though about to fall*, i. e. though I may or shall fall, I care not, provided I may go over such a course.—*escendo*, cf. 1, 6, N.—*Utque viam*, etc.: we quote Dr. Lodge again:

"And that thou mayst continue in the way,
Be carefull lest thy posting Steeds doe stray;
Yet shalt thou passe by Taurus, who will bend
His hornes to crosse thee, whither thou dost tend;
Th' Aenomian Archer and the Lion fell
Shall stay thy course and fright thee where they dwell."

—*Utque*, *although*.—*adversus*, *opposite*.—*tauri*, a sign of the zodiac. Ovid generally prefers *vacca* to *taurus*.—*violenti*, so used because the sun, on entering the constellation *Leo*, is more violent in its heat.—*humilis et inertis est*, etc., *it is the part of an ignoble and weak mind*, etc.

VI.—1. Quare tamen, etc.: *still*, the question comes up again, *why does the deity?* etc. Seneca now takes the ground that there are no evils but vices; hence it follows that the virtuous do not suffer evils, since that name does not properly belong to afflictions and the like.—**Omnia mala**, i. e. *evils* such as he would call *real*, like crimes, wicked thoughts, and others which he proceeds to enumerate.—**avida consilia**, cf. *De Brev. Vit.* 3, 3. Reference here is undoubtedly to ambition, and other like desires, since *avaritia* follows so closely.—**ut . . . servet?** *that he should also give heed to the burden of good men*, i. e. their external condition, whether wealth and honors, or troubles, griefs, and cares. Seneca certainly had not yet fully grasped the Christian idea.—**sarcinas**, the baggage which the camp slave, *calo*, bore. He asks, should god be made to do the work of a slave?—**Democritus . . . projecit**: the celebrated Eleatic philosopher of Abdera (flor. B.C. 460) inherited from his father a large property (100 talents, or more than \$100,000), and assigned it to his brother; Lips. But the truth probably is that he expended it in extensive travel and study, as he died in great poverty.—**miraris si**, cf. A. & G. 199 c.

2. occidunt? sc. *illos*, as Brutus, Manlius Torquatus, and others; some read, *et ipsi occidunt*.—**repetituri**, fut. part. expressing intention, H. 549, 3; B. & M. 1355; A. & G. 333 r.—**cum . . . adferant?** the Stoic assumption repeated, that a *good* man may commit suicide; cf. 2, 8, N. at the end.—**in exemplar**: observe use of *in* with accus. to denote end or purpose.—**3. Quid habetis quod**, etc., *what cause have you to complain?* etc.; cf. Z. 562.—**possitis**, emphatic position.—**Isti . . . adspicitis**, *those whom you admire for their felicity*; some render, *those whom you look upon as fortunate*.—**ad similitudinem . . . culti**, *after the similitude of their own walls adorned on the outside*. Compare our Lord's denunciation of the Pharisees: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess." . . . "Ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness" (Matt. xxiii. 25, 27).—**crusta**, the inlaid work on walls, as of variegated marble.

4. ad arbitrium ostendi, i. e. only so much of their real char-

acter can be exposed as they will, or they can appear to men as they themselves will.—**alienus splendor absconderit**, for subj., cf. H. 529, 1.; B. & M. 1182; A. & G. 334.—**meliora maioraque**: supply *videbuntur*, and *tanto*, correlative of *quanto*.—**Permisi . . . contemnere**: later writers and poets, after *permitto* with the dat., also have an infin. Earlier writers always used *ut* with subj.; M. 396, obs. 1.—**introrsus**, opposed to *extrinsecus*; cf. *De Tranq.* 10.—**mundus**, cf. Ueberweg's "Hist. of Philosophy," i. 194: "Since the world, as a whole, . . . is deity," etc.—**exteriora**, *ubi vacuum infinitum* (Lips.), where all is emptiness and void.

5. **toleratu**, on supine in *u*, cf. M. 412.—**Quia non poteram**, etc. Again the deity is made subject to secondary causes; cf. 5, 6, N.—**deum anteceditis**: Lips. charges Seneca with either folly or presumption; and, looked at from the Christian standpoint, such language is the height of arrogance and folly. The usual Stoic doctrine was that their model wise man "is king and lord, and is inferior in inner worth to no other rational being, not even to Zeus himself" (Ueberweg, i. 198). Seneca here, however, seems plainly to go much farther; cf. *De Tranq.* 7, 2, N.—**solvat**, sc. *vos* or *nos*.—**finis**, i. e. on the supposition that the soul perishes. The alternative is expressed by *transfert*.—**feriret**, subj. of purpose, M. 355.

6. **patet exitus**: the power of death is placed in the hands of man—an intimation, thought the Stoics, that it was honorable and praiseworthy to take one's own life, under circumstances of great trial, rather than submit to dishonor and disgrace. Cato at Utica was their favorite illustration and exemplar. In this way was ignored entirely the momentous truth that God alone is the dispenser of life and death.—**Prono . . . loco** = a declivity; why is prep. omitted before *loco*? cf. H. 425, II. 2; M. 273 b.—**trahitur**: Lips. conjectures *traditur*, as more consistent, since life is voluntarily surrendered.—**libertatem**, cf. *De Ira*, iii. 15, 4.—**intransantibus**, i. e. *in lucem, in vitam*.

7. **quam . . . inpingere**, i. e. direct against her her own gift, as when we throw away life.—**mortem condiscite**, *learn death well*, learn how to die at any moment.—**commissura**, *the joint or knot*.—8. **in proximo**, *close at hand, next door*.—**mori**: on this use of infin., cf. Z. 597, 598.—**quam**: the latter term or part of the

comparison is omitted ; it may be rendered thus, *than is requisite in order that so great swiftness may be perceived.*—**haustus ignis**: Portia, the wife of Brutus, who joined in killing Julius Caesar, is said to have destroyed herself by swallowing live coals when she had learned of her husband's death at Philippi. It is quite possible that she inhaled carbonic-acid gas from a charcoal fire, a favorite and frequent means of self-destruction among the Romans. The allusion in the text may be to this. Cf. Plutarch's *Cato* and *Brutus*.

DE TRANQUILLITATE ANIMI.

ARGUMENTUM.—I. Serenus is represented as addressing a letter to Seneca, in which he sets forth that he is in an unquiet, morose, and vacillating condition of mind. He states (somewhat confusedly, as Lips. thinks) why he is in this trouble of mind: he points out that he is disquieted and uneasy by being in the midst of luxury and splendor at the imperial court; and he avers that he does not know where to look for repose—whether in the enjoyment of wealth or the practice of frugality, whether in public life, private retirement, study, or the like. II. Seneca answers Serenus. He endeavors to persuade him to have confidence in himself, to stand firm, and to acquire for himself tranquillity of mind. Then he promises to point out how it can be reached, the effect and origin of it being first set forth. III. Against this *taedium* (which he considers a disease) he counsels Serenus to bear in mind that one of the best remedies is activity and taking a share in public affairs, at least the mingling ease with activity; if we fall upon more turbulent times, we must not refuse this duty; Socrates quoted, as an illustration. IV., V., VI. It is necessary before all things for us, entering upon business, to know ourselves, then business, then men, for the sake of or with whom we are to act or labor. Our own strength is to be duly estimated, what it is, and how far we may go; then, in business or active life, we must consider whether we are equal to the work to be done; and, further, whether men are worthy our toil and expenditure of time. VII., VIII. Moreover, it helps to tranquillity of mind to have faithful and pleasant friendships; morose, sad-tempered, and fault-finding friends are to be shunned. Other things, too, hinder our gaining ease of mind; such as our patrimony, which, if moderate, suffices for virtue and quietness of life—if large, hinders both. A moderate fortune is esteemed the best. IX. True riches are acquired only by frugality and continence; therefore luxury is to be resisted, even in useful, profitable matters, such as a library, books, etc. X. Then, too, trouble is to be put up with, lest it injure tranquillity; for every man has his troubles, which are softened and overcome by labor and custom, as well as by the sight of another's lot worse than our own. Pleasures are detrimental to every kind of life, and desires, ever near by and at our very feet, cannot be banished. XI. Next follows a discussion of equanimity and constancy of a wise man. Such a one despises death, or regards it as indifferent. Nothing happens or can happen to him unawares; so death does not come unexpectedly; neither does he anticipate the evil or the good in the future. Examples of illustrious and good men given.

XII., XIII., XIV., XV. In superfluous matters we must not toil, nor be too busy in other people's concerns. One ready to do much must consider the inconstancy of affairs, and avoid levity, etc., so as to preserve tranquillity. Hatred of the human race is to be cast aside, and wearisomeness avoided. The vanities of men are not to be laughed at or wept over, but borne with equal mind; neither are we to be sad at the loss of our goods. Pretence and anxious watching one's self are not to be indulged in, and solitude and converse with others are to be prudently mingled.

Cap. I.—1. mihi, i. e. Annaeus Serenus, an intimate and valued friend of Seneca's. He was praefectus vigilum under Nero, and died, together with a whole company, from the effects of eating poisonous fungi. Seneca was much grieved at his death. Cf. *Epist.* 63, 14; Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 13; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxii. 2, 3.—**Seneca**: this is the reading now generally approved, though some hold to *Serene*. Haase reads *retecta* (prefixing to cap. i. the name SERENUS in brackets). The earliest ms. is imperfect in regard to this word, the first two letters only being legible. It seems most reasonable to regard the author writing as if a letter had been sent to him by Serenus, in which the latter presents his complaints, arising out of the position in which he is placed, and asking for help in the search and striving after ease and contentment of mind. Probably this treatise was written by Seneca after his being recalled from exile, through Agrippina's influence, and his being appointed preceptor to her son Nero.

manu prenderem: a proverbial expression, used of things definite or plain; cf. *De Benef.* vi. 42, 1.—**obscuriora et in recessu**, antithesis to *in aperto posita*; a variety of construction not unusual in Seneca, as also in Livy and Sallust, but more rare in Tacitus. The words are equivalent to *a little more in the background*, as *in aperto* means *openly*, in the light of day.—**vel**, *even*, has force of adverb, and enhances the sense of the word modified by it; Z. 734.—**dixerim**, subj. denoting modest affirmation; M. 350 b.—**hostes vagos**, i. e. nomadic, as the ancient Numidians and Scythians, and the modern Arab tribes which roam the desert.—**per quos**: when a man is the instrument by which anything is effected, the abl. is rarely used, but generally *per* with accus.; Z. 455, note.—**per quos . . . securum**, freely, *who permit me neither*

to be always on my guard as in war, nor free from apprehension as in peace: *securum*, post-Aug. in this sense.—*licet*, refers to what is allowed by human laws and usages. It differs from *fas*, in that this latter has reference to what is permitted by divine laws and the higher moral sense. Cf. Doederlein, Lat. Synonyms, p. 43.—*ut, as*, in comparisons.—*fatear*, for subj., cf. H. 484, v.; B. & M. 1180; A. & G. 268; also, *Epist.* 53, 8.—*bona fide* (sometimes written *ex fide bona*), *honestly, entirely*.—*obnoxium*, *subject or addicted to the vitium* he is speaking of.

2. *ut . . . ita*: in comparisons these words place sentences on an equality, but this equality is sometimes limited to the result to which both sentences lead; so that *ut . . . ita*=*although . . . yet*; Z. 726.—*Non est, quod dicas*, *you have no reason to say*: for the subj., cf. H. 503, note 2; B. & M. 1229; Z. 562, note.—*in speciem*, *for appearance' sake*; some prefer the reading *in spem*.—*dico*, *I mean*=*namely, to wit*.—*quicquid . . . venit*, *whatever depends upon the judgment of others*.—*mora*=*tempore*.—*veras vires*: as virtue and all qualities that are sound and noble.—*ad placendum*, force of *ad* with acc. gerund. ? H. 544, notes; B. & M. 1338.—*expectant*=*require or have need of*.—*donec, until*, takes subj. when a thing is conceived as merely possible, or if purpose is implied; when a fact is expressed the indic. is used; Z. 575; H. 519; B. & M. 1238, 1240.—*ducat*=*acquires*; cf. Quintilian, i. 2, 18; Hor. *Odes*, iii. 27, 76.—*hoc vitium*, i. e. of a wavering and unquiet mind.

3. *Tam . . . quam, as well . . . as*.—*amorem induit*: some read *moram*; this, however, would destroy the parallelism intended between this and the preceding thought. Lips. reads *inducit* for *induit*. Cf. Lucretius, *De Rer. Nat.* iv. 1283, *consuetudo concinnat amorem*.—*Haec animi . . . ostendere, I cannot show thee so well at once, as in part, what this infirmity of the mind is, which vacillates now this way, now that, turning resolutely neither to the good nor to the bad*.—*utrumque*, plur. in sense, but when only two persons or things are meant rarely put in the plur.—*semel*=*in full, in detail*.—*per partes*, *in part, partly*, adverbial use, Z. 258, obs. 2; cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 54, 88; v. 3; Pliny, *Epist.* ii. 5.—*accidant*, an indirect question, H. 529; B. & M. 1180.—*parsimoniae*: when used in plur., ante and post classical. Here, and in what follows on this subject, Lips. regards Seneca

as speaking concerning himself, and in his own person. He was a vegetarian in diet, was accustomed to lie on a hard mattress, and daily went through a course of self-examination. Cf. *Epist.* 108, 17; 98, 13; *De Ira*, ii. 36; iii. 36.—**fateor**, followed regularly by accus. with infin. The indic. *tenet* shows that the two sentences are really distinct declarations: *very great love of parsimony possesses me, I confess it.* Cf. Virg. *Aen.* ii. 134.—**in ambitionem**: *in* frequently has accus. when it denotes a state of mind in reference to something, or activity in a certain direction and with a certain object, as *in speciem*, above; M. 230 a.—**cubile conpositum**, a high couch, spread with colored purple and golden tapestry, covered with emblems, and resting on golden, ivory, and silver feet; cf. Juv. *Sat.* xi. 94. During the later period of the republic and the earlier years of the empire, when Asiatic luxuries were imported into Italy, the richness and magnificence of the couches of wealthy Romans were almost beyond description. The blankets or counterpanes (*vestes stragulae*, *stragula*) were of very costly material, and generally of purple color, and embroidered with figures in gold. Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 43; Cic. *in Verr.* iv. 12, 26; Martial, *Epig.* ii. 16; also, Diet. Antiq.—**arcula**: this was a chest in which fine clothing and state robes were kept; it was also used as a press, Lips. says, to make them glossy. To this use the words following probably refer, *ponderibus . . . expressa*.—**domestica**, sc. *vestis*. It refers to a garment worn in the house, of ordinary material, as opposed to *forensis vestis*, out-door and official garment of the finest quality. Cf. Cic. *De Fin.* ii. 24, 77; Suetonius, *Aug.* 73.—**sumenda**, *to be worn*.

4. **cibus**, cf. § 3, N. *parsimoniae*, etc.—**familiae**, i. e. the crowds or numbers of slaves; cf. 8, 4, N. *numerus*.—**nec spectent**, v. l. *expectent*, which is incompatible with the author's meaning, viz. to express the eager manner with which servants regard the rich food served up by them.—**nihil habens . . . pretiosive**, i. e. being neither scanty nor costly; *arcessiti* denotes that which is much sought for, viz. because of its scarcity. It often has the force *far-fetched*, indicating what is unnatural, as opposed to that which comes of itself, and hence is natural. Cf. Quint. x. 1, 8; Cic. *De Orat.* ii. 63.—**rediturus**: with reference to the disgusting practice here referred to, cf. *De Prov.* 3, 11, N.—**intraverit**, v. l.

intraverat: indirect question requires subj.—*vernula*: cf. *De Prov.* 1, 5, N.—*argentum* . . . *patris*, i. e. the silver that his (Seneca's) father used in the country, viz. at Corduba in Spain, where he was born; vid. INTRODUCTION, p. 11.—*mensa* . . . *conspicua*: wealthy and distinguished Romans were very particular about the material of their tables. The most beautiful and rare kinds of woods were used, especially the fragrant African *citrus*. Pliny relates (*Nat. Hist.* xiii. 29) that Cicero bought a table of this kind for 1,000,000 sesterces (about \$30,000), and that others were sold for twice and three times as many thousands of dollars. The legs were made of ivory, and carved to imitate the heads of various animals, as lions, tigers, etc. Cf. *De Benef.* vii. 9; *Hor. Sat.* i. 6, 116.—*in usum posita*, made for my use.—*moretur*, delays, i. e. by attracting attention; hence, *captivates*.

5. *paedagogii*: the *paedagogus* was originally a trustworthy slave, who attended upon children to and from the gymnasium. Nero rendered himself obnoxious by training up free boys to become *paedagogi* (Sueton. *Nero*, 8). He and other emperors attached large numbers to the court for the sake of state and ornament. The modern "page" has its origin from this source, and is the fit meaning of the word in this place. The word was also applied to teachers. The *paedagogium* denotes the apartments in the palace occupied by the pages. Cf. Pliny, *Epist.* 7, 27; also, *Class. Dict.*—*mancipia*: these were slaves bought in the market, as distinguished from those (*vernulae*) reared in the house. The *mancipia* were very numerous. Horace (*Sat.* i. 6, 107) ridicules the praetor Tullius because he had no more than five slaves to accompany him from the Tiburtine villa to Rome. Cf. Becker's "Gallus."—*iam*: this word, when connecting sentences, frequently has the force of *further*; taken with *etiam* it may be rendered *moreover*; Z. 286.—*domus*, etc.: a reference to the splendor of Nero's palace. "In the time of Nero the Palatine hill had become one vast congeries of imperial piles for the private residence of the emperors and of the officials of the court, and for some public purposes. It included palaces, temples, libraries, baths, and fountains, the gardens of Adonis, and an area for athletic games. In addition to the complete occupancy of the Palatine hill, he constructed another palace, the *domus transitoria*, across

the space now occupied by the Coliseum, which ascended the slope of the Esquiline to the borders of the gardens of Maecenas. All this pile of palaces was rich beyond description in marbles, and gilding, and frescoes, and bronzes, and mosaics, and statuary, and paintings."—Butler's "St. Paul in Rome," p. 134. In Nero's famous "Golden House" he had a statue of himself erected, 120 feet in height. His palace floors were paved with gold, gems, and precious stones, and the walls were adorned with paintings, raised figures, etc.; cf. Becker's "Gallus," p. 34.—**tecta**: the ceilings were also inlaid with ivory and gold; cf. Becker's "Gallus," p. 184; Guhl & Koner's "The Life of the Greeks and Romans," p. 368, etc.—**perlucentis**, for *perlucentes*.—**aquas et circumfluentes**, etc.: a novel feature, that is in some measure approached by the *aquaria* frequently seen in American houses; cf. *De Prov.* 3, 9, n.—**loquar**: for subj., cf. A. & G. 268.—**scena**: a reference to the magnificence with which the *coenatio* was fitted up. Suetonius relates that Nero's *coenatio* was furnished like a theatre, with shifting scenes for every course.

6. Circumfudit . . . circumsonuit, *this extravagant profusion encompassed me coming from a secluded place, long used to habits of frugality, and on all sides resounded with its flood of magnificence.* This description may be taken as a fair illustration of the style of an age abounding in a profusion of ornamental rhetoric. For an account of the dissolute court of Nero, vid. Butler's "St. Paul in Rome."—**frivola**, lit. *paltry things*, wretched furniture, etc., mostly post-Aug. in this sense.—**numquid**: this word can only be considered as an interrog. particle, in so far as it is a mere sign of a question, when *quid* has no meaning at all (except that it strengthens the simple interrog.); but in indirect questions such as this the accus. *quid* usually retains its pronominal force; Z. 351, note.—**illa**, refers to the splendid appointments of the palace.—**vim praeceptorum**, the teachings of my instructors—a reference, probably, to the chief Stoic teachers. Seneca's personal instructors were Papirius Fabianus, Attalus, and Sotion; see INTRODUCTION, p. 12.—**virgis**, i. e. the rods of the lictors, which were borne before the superior magistrates. Seneca was at this time praetor, and soon after became the chief adviser of Nero.

7. Promptus, v. l. *propius*.—**Zenona**: a native of Citium in

Cyprus, flourished about B.C. 330. He was the founder of that system of philosophy called Stoic, from the *Stoa Poecile*, in Athens, where in former times poets were accustomed to meet. For particulars as to his scheme of philosophy, consult the standard work of Zeller, "The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics;" also, Ueberweg's "History of Philosophy," Lewes's "Hist. of Philosophy," and Class. Dict.—**Cleanthen**: a native of Assos in Troas, born about B.C. 300. He succeeded Zeno as head of the Stoic school. One of his doctrines was that all souls are immortal, but that the intensity of existence after death would vary according to the strength or weakness of the particular soul, thereby leaving to the wicked some apprehension of future punishment. Some of the Stoics held that only the souls of the wise and good were to survive death.—**Chrysippum**: a native of Soli in Cilicia, born B.C. 280. He studied under Cleanthes at Athens, and became his successor; and of him it has been said, "if Chrysippus had not lived, the Porch could not have been" (Diog. Laërt. vii. 183). He ranked as an authority among the Stoics, and was the inventor of the logical "sorites." Cicero drew largely from his writings for the *Tusculan Disputations*. Vid. Zeller, as above, and Class. Dict.—**quorum . . . misit**, *no one of whom himself entered into public affairs, but each enjoined others to do so*. Chrysippus held that a prudent man avoids business, and that a statesman must either displease the gods or displease the people. "Taken alone, Stoicism could form excellent men, but hardly excellent statesmen; and, looking to facts, not one of the old masters of the school ever had or desired any public office" (Zeller's "Stoics," etc., p. 307, 308).—**et nemo**: if a negative proposition is followed by an affirmative, in which the same thought is expressed or continued, *et* is employed in Latin where in English we use *but*; M. 433, obs. 2.—**arietari**, used by Seneca here in the sense, *to be harassed*, viz. by confusion in public affairs and wrangling in the forum; elsewhere the word means *to totter* (*Epist.* 107, 2); cf. *De Prov.* 1, 2, N.—**ex facili**, adv. phrase, *easily*; so, *in facili, de facili*; cf. *De Benef.* iii. 8, 2.—**res non . . . aestimandae**, i. e. trivial matters.—**magno**, cf. B. & M. 803, obs. 5.—**converter**: this verb has both pass. and mid. or reflex. meaning; Z. 146.—**domum**, adverbially, *homeward*.—**placet**, i. e. *animo*.

8. **nihil . . . redditurus**, fut. part. denotes intention, *who does not intend to restore*; cf. M. 425, obs. 5.—**quod ad . . . spectet** = *quod ab alieno iudicio pendeat; deo et sibi placeat*: Lips.—**ametur**: *amare* here = *quaerere*.—**curae**, H. 399, 2, 3; B. & M. 777.—**commodare . . . vocem**: this refers to the forensic orator in his capacity of pleader in behalf of a client's cause, as *commodare operam* to the efforts of the advocate in the management of the details of the cause; vid. Dict. Antiq., Orator, Advocate, Patronus. Seneca, it is to be remembered, was very successful as a forensic orator, and probably much of his wealth was acquired in this way. See INTROD. p. 12.—**male** = *immerito*.—9. **In studiis**, etc.: Lips. thinks that there is here a defectiveness and want of congruity.—**verba . . . permittere**, *to suit the words to the thought*.—**ut . . . sequatur oratio**: the sense seems to be, that the language without ambiguity may be subject to the thought.—**seculis**, H. 379, 1; B. & M. 950; M. 235, obs. 3; cf. *Epist.* 93, 3.—**id agere**: custom has established the superfluous use of *id*, as preliminary to a proposition following; Z. 748.—**non**, v. l. *nunc*.—**funus tacitum**, *private funeral*. There were two kinds of funerals among the Romans—*tacitum* or *plebeium*, and *publicum* or *indictivum*, because the people were invited to the latter by the herald; cf. *De Brev. Vit.* 20, 4.—10. **sperare**: Haase reads *spirare*.—**pressioris** = *angusti*.—**et ore**, supply *loquor*.—**non meo**: cf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 25, 17; Ovid, *Fusti*, vi. 5.—**plus**, sc. *in me infirmitatis*.—**pervideo**, v. l. *provideo*.—**favor** = *amor sui nimius*.—11. **quaedam**, sc. *vitia*.—**opertis**, v. l. *apertis*.—**quod . . . iudices**: cf. § 2, N. *quod dicas*.—**adulatione**: an ancient writer quoted by Lips. observes, *omnis Romanus adulatione corrumpitur aut corrumpit*; cf. *De Benef.* vi. 30; *Epist.* 59, 11.—12. **fluctuationem**, sc. *animi*.—**dignum . . . debeam**: cf. *De Prov.* 2, 6, N.—**adferentis**, for *adferentes*.

II.—1. **Quaero iam dudum**: the pres. with *iam diu* or *iam dudum* has force of pres.-perf.; H. 467, 2; B. & M. 1083:—**Serene**: Seneca, in the first chapter, having stated the points for discussion and inquiry, now proceeds to answer at length his supposed correspondent.—**ulli**, v. l. *ullius*.—**interim**, *sometimes*, post.-Aug. in this sense; cf. *De Ira*, i. 16.—**cum . . . effugerunt**, i. e. after

they have recovered from the effects of the disease; cf. *cum . . . requieverit*, a few lines below.—**2. durioribus**, sc. *medicinis*.—**sed illud**, supply *opus est*; with *opus* the thing needed is preferred in the nomin. if it be a neut. pron. or adject.; cf. Arnold's Latin Prose Compos. 173; H. 414, iv, note 4; B. & M. 673.—**3. non concuti**, *not to be shaken*, or agitated violently by passions or otherwise.—**Democriti**: Democritus of Abdera, born B.C. 460. He was the chief advocate of the atomic theory of Leucippus, and being of a very cheerful temperament, he became known as the "laughing philosopher." (Cf. *De Ira*, ii. 10.) The subject *εὐθυμία*, here mentioned, was the title of one of his treatises, and was regarded in his philosophy as the end and ultimate object of our actions. None of his complete works are extant.—**nec enim . . . necesse est**, *and (with good reason) for it is not necessary*.

4. Ergo quaerimus, etc.: cf. with this definition that of Democritus (as given in Lipsius's Latin version), *per quam tranquille et constanter animus agit, nullo metu perturbatus, vel superstitionis, vel alterius affectus*.—**propitius sibi**, i. e. satisfied with itself and its lot or state.—**gaudium**: cf. Cicero's definition, *quum ratione animus moretur placide atque constanter, tum illud gaudium dicitur* (*Tusc. Disp.* iv. 6, 13).—**nec adtollens**, etc., allowing neither prosperity nor adversity to ruffle the calm satisfaction of mind.—**publico remedio**: the chief Stoic teachers advised participation in public affairs, though in practice they avoided it; cf. 1, 7, N.—**agnoscet**, v. l. *cognoscet*.—**professionem**: Lips. refers this either to false philosophers, or to magistrates and rulers.—**sub ingenti titulo**, i. e. under the honored title of a wise philosopher, or of an officer and guardian of public trusts.—**simulatione**, i. e. of living peaceably and cheerfully.

5. causa, *state or condition*, i. e. of unrest.—**Adice**, i. e. *advice*; for spelling, cf. *De Prov.* 2, 9, N.—**inveniant**: for subj., cf. H. 519, 2; B. & M. 238.—**ad novandum pigra**, *too sluggish for making a change*.—**non inconstantiae vitio**: Lips. reads, *non constantia in vita*.—**6. ubi**, used instead of relat. pron., and may be translated *on account of which*.—**consequantur**, sc. *quod concupiscunt*.—**in spem toti prominent**, i. e. they live entirely upon baseless hopes; said of a class who are always hoping and never realizing.—**pendentibus ad vota sua**, i. e. to those who are in suspense about

the realization of their wishes; *votum* means an offering solemnly vowed or dedicated, on condition that one's wish or desire be granted.—**pendent**, a tautological repetition of the thought expressed above, *pendentibus*, etc. Fickert, in a note, gives it as his impression that Seneca wrote, *ad vota sua. Omnia inpendunt*, etc., or, *Ad vota sua omnia inpendunt*, etc.: almost all mss. join the words in this way.—**cogunt**: transitive verbs sometimes have beside their own proper object an accus. limiting the extent of their action; cf. M. 229, 2; Virg. *Aen.* x. 24.—**præa**, sc. *se fecisse*.

7. inter destituta vota, in the midst of its disappointed hopes.—**Quæ**, and these; cf. B. & M. 701, 1.—**secreta studia**, private studies.—**pati non potest**: cf. *Epist.* 2, 1; *primum argumentum compositæ mentis existimo, posse consistere, et secum morari*.—**animus . . . erectus**, etc., a mind fixed on the affairs of the world, etc.—**inquietus**, Haase reads *inquiēs*.—**parum**, used as a neuter subst. and as such followed by gen. Z. 432; B. & M. 1008.—**non fert**, i. e. *animus*.—**8. utique ubi** = however it may be at other times, this is assuredly the case when, etc.—**agant**: cf. Z. 562.—**9. quia**, followed by indic. because the author assigns the reason on his own authority, H. 516, 1.; B. & M. 1255. It is characteristic of the envious to desire to drag down the objects of their envy.—**aversatione**, post-Aug., rarely used.—**processuum** = good fortunes, literally, a going forward; cf. *De Consol. ad Polyb.* 28.—**obirascens**, mostly post-Aug., translate as a verb, and so with the other participles.

10. dixerim, subj. to denote modest affirmation; cf. 1, 1, N.—**mala**: cf. Hor. *Ars Poet.* 453.—**ut**, namely, or, as for instance.—**versare se**, the reflexive pron. sometimes stands in universal assertions without a definite reference to a preceding word; cf. M. 490, obs. 5.—**11. Homericus Achilles**: *Iliad*, xxiv. 10, 11; cf. *Odys.* xx. 24, etc.—**varios habitus**, various or different postures.—**quod . . . est**, and this is a characteristic of a sick man.—**ægri**: for gen., cf. H. 399, 3; B. & M. 781.—**mutationibus ut remediis uti**, to make use of changes as a means of relief.—**Nunc Campaniam petamus**: Campania, situate between Latium and Lucania, has always been celebrated for the fertility of its soil, the beauty of its scenery, and the salubrity of its climate. Many of the wealthier citizens of Rome had villas along its hill-sides, and the

ruins of some of these can be seen to this day.—**iam**, *presently*, said of the immediate future.—**inculta**, the *untilled* or *woody country*, referring to Bruttium and Lucania.—**Bruttios et Lucaniae saltus**: Bruttium was the southernmost district of the Italian mainland. The inhabitants are said to have originated from the slaves and shepherds of the Lucanians, who took refuge in the mountain fastnesses of the south. Diodorus Siculus relates that they became an independent nation or people about B.C. 357. They lived mostly in the interior, the coasts being chiefly occupied by Greek colonies. In B.C. 274 they were conquered by the Romans, and made tributary until the invasion of Hannibal, whose standard they joined. After the departure of the Carthaginians the Romans took vengeance upon the Bruttii by subjecting them to complete vassalage. Lucania was divided from Bruttium by the river Laus. The people were brave, and gradually acquired possession of the Greek cities on the coast. They were subdued by the Romans after Pyrrhus had left Italy, and on Hannibal's appearance joined him against their oppressors. The result was that during the second Punic war Lucania was repeatedly laid waste, and never recovered its former prosperity. The malaria, which is so fatal there, had doubtless made itself felt already; the towns of the interior fell into decay, and the mountain ranges became one of the wildest regions of Italy. Large sections were used for grazing, and extensive forests furnished supplies of swine for the tables of the Romans, and wild boars and bears for the amphitheatres. Hence Seneca mentions these regions, in their rugged wildness, as contrasted with the loveliness of Campania.—**amoeni**, refers to pleasure received through the sense of sight, and hence very properly used here in connection with *oculi*.—**luxuriosi oculi**, *our eyes feasted with luxurious sights*.—**releventur**, subj. of purpose, B. & M. 1205.

12. Tarentum, the modern *Taranto*, was one of the most interesting cities of ancient times, and was of Lacedaemonian origin. It was distinguished for its mild climate, beautiful scenery, and excellent harbor. Its present harbor is sixteen miles in circuit. By reason of its superior commercial facilities it rose to great wealth, and became noted for its luxury and refinement. Vid. Class. Dict.—**hiberna** = *winter*; cf. Virg. *Aen.* i. 266.—**coeli** = *sky*

or *climate*.—**regio** . . . **turbæ**: the thought is that even in Seneca's time the dwellings within the enclosure of the walls were so numerous, as well as so rich and extensive, as to be able to hold even its ancient population, notwithstanding the fact that a considerable portion of the city had been long deserted. Strabo (vi. p. 278) says: "The ancient wall comprises a circuit of great extent, but now the greater part of the space adjoining the isthmus is deserted."—**plausu** . . . **fragore**, *theatrali* . . . *Circensi* understood; Lips.—**iuvat**, etc., refers to contests of gladiators with each other and with wild beasts.—**semper fugit**: the adverb is not in the original, but aptly inserted by Seneca; cf. Lucretius, *De Rerum Nat.* iii. 1081.

13. non effugit? cf. Hor. *Od.* ii. 16.—**gravissimus**, *most troublesome or most dangerous*.—**quod** . . . **locum**, *because of frequent change of purpose* . . . *they had left no opportunity for novelty*.—**Fastidio esse illis**, *to be a source of disgust to them*; H. 390; B. & M. 848.—**rabidarum deliciarum**: Lips. suggests *tabidarum*, in the sense of *deficientes, languentes*: *pleasures that have been exhausted—that fail to give us any further enjoyment*. Compare Farrar's apposite words in this connection: "In proportion to the luxury of the age were its misery and its exhaustion. The mad pursuit of pleasure was the death and degradation of all true happiness. Suicide—suicide out of pure *ennui* and discontent at a life overflowing with every possible means of indulgence—was extraordinarily prevalent. . . . The philosophy which alone professed itself able to heal men's sorrows applauded the supposed courage of a voluntary death; and it was of too abstract, too fantastic, and too purely theoretical character to furnish them with any real or lasting consolation" (Farrar's "Seekers after God," p. 49).—**Quousque eadem?** Lips. suggests, as the meaning here, viz. *dormire, surgere, ingerere, egerere, libidinari, faticare, et omnia in orbem*; cf. *Epist.* 24, 26; 89, 18.

III.—1. erat = esset; the extract from Athenodorus extends to middle of § 7.—**Athenodorus**. Several ancient philosophers bore this name. The one here referred to was probably the celebrated Stoic surnamed *Cordylion*. He was born at Tarsus, and had charge of the library at Pergamus. Cato the Younger, at-

tracted by his fame, made him a visit, brought back the philosopher with him to Rome, and lived on terms of entire intimacy with him during the remainder of his life. While with Cato, Athenodorus composed a work of some note, which, however, has been lost—*περὶ σπουδῆς καὶ παιδείας*. Cf. *Epist.* 10, 4; Diog. Laërt. vii. 34.—**actione** . . . **detinere**: on the Stoic views as to taking part in public affairs, cf. 1, 7, N.—**actione rerum**, in the transaction of general public duties: *actio* refers to every civil, political action, transaction, e. g. *de pace*, and actions in court; cf. Ramshorn's Lat. Synonyms.—**lacertos** . . . **nutrire**: *nutrire* has here a zeugmatic force: *to exercise the muscles of the arms, and nurse their strength, to which alone they have dedicated themselves*.—**propositum habeat** = *proposuerit*: for use of *habeo* and perf. part. instead of perf. tense, cf. H. 388, 1, note; M. 427; B. & M. 1358, obs. 4; for subj., cf. H. 517; B. & M. 1250; A. & G. 326.

2. **Sed quia** . . . **recedendum est**: cf. Lord Bolingbroke's remarks (Letter 212, vol. ii.): "When I, who pass a great part, very much the greatest part, of my life alone, sally forth into the world, I am very far from expecting to improve myself by the conversation I find there, and still further from caring one jot what passes there."—**quia**: cf. 2, 9, N.—**inquit**, i. e. Athenodorus.—**insana** . . . **ambitione**: allusion is here probably made to the internecine struggles of the great leaders in the contest, Pompey, Caesar, Antony, etc., and may well be used as pointing to the dangers surrounding public men also under the empire.—**tot calumniatoribus** . . . **torquentibus**, while so many detractors are putting a sinister construction upon virtues and straightforward conduct.—**plus futurum** . . . **succedat**, i. e. there will always be more hindrances than aids to success.—**sed**, denotes strong opposition, and interrupts the narration: *autem* is weaker in this respect, yet serves as a connective.—**hominum**: supply *vires coercentur*.—**in seducto**, in retirement.

3. **reipublicae**, i. e. before the establishment of the empire under Augustus.—**candidatos extrahit**: words which seem applicable to a practice, in the times of the emperors, of partisans taking their candidates by the hand; cf. Pliny's *Epist.* iii. 20; Seneca, *Epist.* 8, 6, where he remarks, "to give my friend my hand and suffrage in the Senate when a candidate for some public

office.”—**in tanta . . . praeceptorum inopia**: Seneca often refers to the lack of high moral principle in his time. So Butler fittingly remarks: “It must have seemed as if all the principles of morality and honor and mercy, which had hitherto at least struggled to maintain a place in human affairs, had at length given way, and resigned the world to the single sway of power employed as the instrument of luxury, rapacity, lust, cruelty, and the varied crimes whose evil brotherhood is never broken” (Butler’s “St. Paul in Rome,” p. 127).—**ruentis**, i. e. *ruentes*; cf. *De Prov.* 3, 7, *n. vagantis*.—**nil aliud**, sc. *proficit, agit*.

4. urbanus praetor: this was the judge who decided cases between Roman citizens, and was first appointed B.C. 356. As foreigners resident in Rome increased, a magistrate became necessary to determine between them and Roman citizens. This office was created B.C. 244, and the incumbent was called *praetor pergrinus*. Vid. Dict. Antiq.—**adeuntibus**, sc. *in jus*, from the legal phrase *adire in jus*, to go before a judge, or to go to law.—**adessoris**: the *assessor* was the legal adviser or assistant of the magistrate. It happened not infrequently that the praetor and other magistrates were not very well skilled in the law, and hence arose the necessity of an assistant or adviser. According to Lips., he dictated the sentence, though he did not formally pronounce it himself. The judge then may very properly be said to pronounce the words of the assessor. Vid. Dict. Antiq.—**qui**, sc. *docet*, or some word of similar force.—**gratuitum**, i. e. freely given, without price or reward, of good-will alone.—**officiis**: cf. H. 425, 2. 3; B. & M. 855.—**non deserueris**, i. e. the post of duty.

5. quamvis . . . sint: for subj., cf. H. 515, III.; B. & M. 1282.—**in numerum**, etc., i. e. they are enrolled and receive pay equally with the rest.—**6. mittit sui signa**, etc., i. e. just as the sun or other luminary sheds its rays of light all around.—**aquas . . . educere**, i. e. to alter the courses of rivers.—**consumendum**: for use of gerundive, cf. H. 544, note 2; B. & M. 1315.—**7. Alii . . . alii**, some of us . . . others of us.—**inpendimus**, sc. *tempus*.—**reliquias**, i. e. no actually accomplished work remains, as an equivalent for the time consumed.—**Mihi**, i. e. Seneca. He now comments on Athenodorus’s sentiments.—**negaverim**, subj. in modest assertions, M. 350 b, 380.—**relato gradu**, with a gradual retreat. The

virtuous man should retire from a disadvantageous and detrimental public position, as an army from before the superior forces of the enemy, orderly and with honor, without the loss of standards, and with perfect discipline.—*fidem*, *security*.

8. fortuna = *misfortune*. Reference is here probably to the danger which Seneca incurred as a frequenter of the forum. Having gained high reputation as an eloquent pleader of causes, he aroused the jealousy and hatred of Caligula; this led to his abandoning the excitement of the forum, and betaking himself to the quieter walks of philosophy. Vid. Suetonius, *Caligula*; also, Class. Dict.—*inferat*, v. l. *inserat*:—*officiis*, i. e. *muniis publicis*.—**9. nos**, i. e. the Stoic leaders and teachers.—**non unius urbis**: cf. *De Otio*, 31.—**rostris**: the stage from which orators addressed the people assembled in the forum. The name was derived from the beaks of ships with which the stage was adorned. Vid. Dict. Antiq.—**comitiis**: as this word refers to the action of the people in the time of the republic, its occurrence here seems somewhat singular.—**quantum**, as a designation of multitude, for *quot*, *how many*.

10. prytanis, for **prytanes**: the chief magistrate or president of the Senate (*πρύτανις*) in some of the Grecian states, as Athens, Corinth, Miletus, etc., was called prytanis. At Athens it seems probable that originally the prytanes ranked next to the archons, acting as judges, and holding courts in the prytaneium (or City Hall). After the overthrow of the thirty tyrants by Thrasybulus, ten, and afterwards thirty prytanes were chosen to administer the government. Vid. Dict. Antiq.; Grote's "Hist. of Greece," vol. iv. 65.—**ceryx** (*κήρυξ*): another example of Latinizing Greek words, common in Seneca's time. The ceryx, at one period, was the priest who performed the religious rites of Ceres, according to Lipsius. He was also a *praeco* or *legatus*, an *ambassador*, the sense here.—**sufes**: the chief ruler of the Carthaginians, corresponding to the consul of the Romans; cf. Livy, xxx. 7; Anthon's Class. Dict. (Carthago).—**primam frontem**, i. e. among the *hastati*, the first line of battle in the Roman army.—**triarios**: the veteran division, which occupied the third and last place, while the *hastati* and *principes* held the first and second. These fought only when the other troops could no longer resist the enemy. When

not in action they rested themselves on the right foot, with the left advanced, and protected themselves with their broad shields.—**ille in proelio**: a reference to Cynaegirus, brother of the poet Aeschylus, with whom he fought bravely at Marathon. Herodotus relates (vi. 114) that he with others pursued the Persians to their ships, and endeavored to climb up into a vessel, but Cynaegirus's right hand was cut off, and he fell into the water and perished. The story was afterwards much exaggerated. Cf. Justin, 2, 9; Class. Dict.—**prima . . . parte**, *front rank in public affairs*.

11. auditus eius visusque: others read, *auditu enim, visu, vultu, nutu*, etc. The whole sentence is expressive of the moral and active aid and support which the good citizen yields to every effort for the public welfare.—**obstinatione tacita**: there are times when silence itself is powerfully eloquent; e. g. that noble citizen and philosopher, P. Thrasea, refused to join in the laudations of Nero in the Senate; and later, when the murder of Agrippina by her own son's orders was announced in the Senate as a piece of good fortune, Thrasea rushed out in indignant scorn and contempt. He was put to death by Nero, A.D. 66.—**citra, without**; so mostly in post-Aug. prose, especially in Quintilian.—**ita virtus**, etc., i. e. virtue, however circumscribed or limited, leavens everything within the sphere of its influence by the very force of its inherent, penetrating, and assimilating excellence.—**et latens**, *and that, too, when unperceived*.—**precarios**, *uncertain*, as being dependent on the will of another.

12. Longe itaque: the conclusion to the argument in opposition to the teaching of Athenodorus expressed above, viz. that for peace of mind, in this world of detractors, we ought to withdraw entirely from participation in public affairs.—**prohibetur**, v. l. *prohibebitur*.—**quam . . . fuit**: as the first member of the comparison is governed by a verb, which does not also belong to the second member, a new proposition after *quam* is formed with a verb (*fuit*) of its own; cf. M. 303 b.—**triginta tyranni**: Athens was taken by Lysander B.C. 404, which closed the Peloponnesian war, after twenty-seven years' struggle. The government of the city was placed by the conqueror in the hands of a council consisting of thirty archons, usually designated in history as the

thirty tyrants. Vid. Class. Dict. and Grote's or Thirlwall's "Hist. of Greece."—**divellerent**, *distracted*, or *disturbed violently*.

13. Areos pagos (spelled *Areiopagus*, or *Ariopagos*, by others): the hill of Ares or Mars, so called from the tradition that Mars was the first person tried there, on a charge of murdering Halirrhottus, son of Neptune. The celebrated tribunal which held its sittings there had existed from very ancient times (Grote's "Hist. of Greece," iii. 72, 3, etc.), and was subsequently modified by Solon. It was before members of this venerable court that St. Paul made his defence, as recorded in Acts xvii. 22. A learned writer, in his commentary, says: "Areiopagus, or Hill of Mars, a rocky ridge facing the Acropolis, from which the highest court of Athens took its name. The seats of the judges, hewn in the solid rock, are still visible. Some have supposed the name in this case to denote the court itself, before which Paul was now arraigned, as Socrates had been 450 years before, for the same offence of introducing strange or foreign gods. The objection to this supposition is, not that the court had been dissolved or deprived of its authority, which is uncertain, but that the ensuing context is without a vestige of judicial process, and that Paul, at the close of his address, went out, it would seem, without the slightest molestation. He was, no doubt, taken to the Areiopagus as a convenient and customary place for public speaking. . . . It seems to have been very much as if a stranger, preaching in the streets of any modern town, should be taken, not before a court, but to a court-house, as a convenient and appropriate locality in which to answer for himself before the public." Cf. Eschenburg's "Manual of Class. Literature," 184, § 108; Class. Dict.; also, Wordsworth's "Athens and Attica," ch. xi.—**senatu**, dat., usual form *senatui*.—**Harmodios**: Harmodius and Aristogiton, Athenians, were two intimate friends, who, on account of a gross insult to one of them, slew Hipparchus, a son of Pisistratus, and brother of Hippias, tyrants, B.C. 514. They both lost their lives. Four years later Hippias was expelled, and the Athenians ever after looked upon Harmodius and Aristogiton as patriots and martyrs for liberty. Cf. *De Benef.* vii. 15, 2.

14. in medio erat: cf. Cic. *Ad Atticum*, viii. 2, 4.—**metuentibus**: because the rich were especially imperilled under the ty-

rants.—**cum . . . incederet**, *while*, etc. When time only is denoted, *cum* rarely takes subj., H. 518, II. 3.—**et qui tuto insultaverat . . . tulit**: not to the thirty tyrants, but to the liberated Athenians did Socrates owe his death; vid. *Class. Dict.*; Plato's *Apology*, p. 21.—**eius . . . libertas non tulit**: cf. *De Const. Sap.* 2, 4; *De Benef.* v. 6, 6.—**ut scias**: subj. of purpose, depending on some verb understood, as *profero hoc*, or the like.—**pecuniam**: Lips. suggests *petulantiam*.—**15. explicabimus nos**, etc.: a salutary political precept, to accommodate ourselves to the exigencies of times and occasions, without violation of truth and virtue; Lips.—**adliserit**, *dash in pieces*, a figure taken from shipwreck.—**absconderit**, *basely hide himself out of sight*; cf. the character which Tacitus portrays in his *Agricola*.—**Non est enim servare se obruere**: the readings are various. Erasmus gives, *non enim debet servantem se obruere*.

16. Curius Dentatus: thus named, says Pliny, because born with teeth. He was three times consul, and was renowned for his victories over the Samnites, Sabines, and Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. His habits were very simple and frugal, and when the Samnite ambassadors went to visit him, as Plutarch tells us, they found him boiling turnips. His answer to them was that a man who could live as cheaply as he was living had no need of gold.—**vivere**, sc. *mortuum*, i. e. a virtually dead, useless life; cf. *Epist.* 82, 3, *otium sine litteris mors est et hominis vivi sepultura*.—**plus**, sc. *temporis*.

IV.—1. aut cum quibus, sc. *agendum est*.—**fere . . . nobis**, lit. *commonly, to ourselves we seem*; *commonly in our own judgment*.—**alius patrimonio . . . posset** = another forced the productive powers of his estate beyond endurance, that is, to meet his great expenditures; cf. *sola terrae seges imperatur* (Tacitus, *Germania*, 26).—**2. primam frontem**: indicating the *confident countenance* or *resolution* which the public man must exhibit, in opposition to the *shamefacedness* or *bashfulness*, denoted by *verecundia*.—**ad aulam**, *in the palace* or *at court*, where obsequiousness usually meets with better success than sturdiness or stubbornness.—**urbanitatem**, *humor* or *raillery*.

V.—1. cum rebus . . . comparandae: to the same effect, cf. *De Ira*, iii. 6, 7; Hor. *Ars Poetica*, 38, 9. What are the other constructions after *comparare*?—**actore**, v. l. *vectore*, *latore*.—**necesse est, ut** omitted; cf. H. 502; Z. 625; M. 373, obs. 1.—**ferente**: abl. after comparative.—**2. unde liber regressus non sit**: suggestive of Virgil's well-known lines (*Aen.* vi. 126–128):

“facilis descensus Averno;
Sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est.”

VI.—1. an . . . perveniat, whether the expenditure of our time will reach them, i. e. whether our efforts will effect any good in them.—**nobis . . . inputant**, i. e. some persons actually imagine that, when they are under obligations to us for our good offices, we are the parties who are indebted. They charge to our account, without questioning, that with which we ought to be credited. Cf. *De Benef.* ii. 17, 6, *superbi et inputatores*; Suetonius, *Tiber.* 53.—**Athenodorus**, surnamed *Cananites*, from Cana in Cilicia, the birthplace of his father, though he himself was a native of Tarsus. He was a Stoic philosopher, and taught at Apollonia in Epirus. Here he attracted the attention of Octavius, and was by him induced to go to Rome, where he became an intimate friend and adviser of the emperor. He wrote a treatise against the *Categories* of Aristotle, and was author of some other works of note. Vid. *Class. Dict.*—**ne ad coenam . . . sit**, that he would dine with no man who would not in return feel under obligation for this favor.—**coenam**: this was the principal meal of the Romans, and one to which they devoted special attention. The business of the day having been finished, they gave themselves up to enjoy the *coena*, which was often protracted until late in the evening. For a detailed account of the meals of the Romans, cf. *Dict. Antiq.*; Becker's "Gallus," p. 451–470; Guhl & Koner's "The Life of the Greeks and Romans," p. 501–507.—**puto intellegis**: cf. 3, 1, *κ. fateor*.—**qui cum amicorum . . . faciunt**, who settle with a feast their obligations to the kind offices of their friends.—**paria mensa**, v. l. *parem mensam*, or *pares mensas*.—**fericula**: the various courses of the feast; literally, the frames on which the servants brought the different dishes served during the feast;

hence *fericula* came to mean the number of courses, and even the dishes themselves.

2. illis, i. e. conviviis.—**Considerandum**, etc.: Lipsius suggests that there is so great lack of unity in this chapter as to give rise to the impression that a portion of the original has been lost.—**natura tua . . . feret**: as an element conducive to peace of mind, Seneca insists upon natural aptitude for any calling. How much disquietude, as well as ill-success and misfortune, might be avoided if this rule were always regarded!—**feret**, v. l. *defert*, or *refert*.—**Isocrates**: a distinguished teacher of rhetoric, born at Athens B.C. 436. He first established a school in the island of Chios, and afterwards at Athens, where he often had as many as one hundred students, and, as his terms were high, he acquired a large fortune. He died at a very advanced age, just after the battle of Chaeronea, B.C. 338. Thoroughly persuaded of the value of oratory in public affairs, he devoted himself to releasing it from sophistry, as far as possible, and basing it on sound moral principle. His style is rather labored and artificial, and his orations on a great variety of topics give evidence of the most conscientious care and attention. One of them, the *Panegyricus*, is said to have occupied ten or even fifteen years in its preparation. Vid. Quint. x. 4, 4; also, Class. Dict.—**Ephorum**: a Greek historian, born at Cumae, in Aeolis, about B.C. 405. He was a pupil of Isocrates, at whose advice he turned his attention especially to history. Only fragments of his history, in thirty books, of the early Greeks and Barbarians have survived. On the whole, probably the loss is not very great, as he differed frequently from standard authorities, as Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. Vid. Polybius, xii. 25; also, Class. Dict.—**Male enim . . . labor est**: this, with other apophthegms that are found in Seneca, is fairly to be compared with the *sententiae* of the best classical writers. His apt and forcible epigrammatic sayings are well worthy of being referred to and quoted.—**coacta ingenia**: a reference to the proverb, *nequid invita Minerva*. Lips. is of opinion that there is something lost between the end of this and the beginning of the next chapter.

VII.—1. *aeque . . . quam, so much . . . as*, only found in

Plautus and post-Aug. writers; cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 83; Tacit. *Ann.* xiv. 38; Suetonius, *August.* 64, 89.—**amicitia**: the praise of which is fully set forth in Cicero's charming tractate, *De Amicitia*.—**quantum fieri poterit**: the indic. is used in restrictive phrases with *quantum*, but the relative requires subj.; cf. Z. 559.—**2. Serpunt enim vitia . . . nocent**: the sentiment is much the same with 1 Cor. xv. 33: "Be not deceived; evil communications corrupt good manners;" cf. *De Ira*, ii. 8.—**pericula trahemus, we shall incur danger**.—**sana**: supply *corpora*.—**ubi . . . quaerimus?** i. e. the Stoic's "wise man," who exists not, as Morrell observes, but in description. So Plutarch (*De Stoic. repugn.* 11, 1), "there is no such one upon earth, nor ever was;" cf. Cic. *Academ.* i. 10, 38; Diog. Laërt. vii. 117. "To sum up" (as Zeller says, "The Stoics," etc., p. 254), "the wise man is absolutely perfect, absolutely free from passion and want, absolutely happy; as the Stoics exclusively assert, he in no way falls short of the happiness of Zeus;" cf. *De Prov.* 6, 5, N. Yet, with what may be called a necessary inconsistency, Seneca, and others like him, set forth this model wise man as worthy of every effort to imitate; cf. Matt. v. 48.—**istum**: cf. Z. 127, 701.—**pro optimo . . . malus**: so *Epist.* 42, 1, 2, where Seneca asserts that such a phoenix (as a really good man) could scarcely be found in five hundred years, and that the one of whom his friend Lucilius writes him was a good man only of the second rank, i. e. only comparatively good, inasmuch as one wholly good could not be found; cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 3, 68; *De Const. Sap.* 7, 1.

3. Platonas et Xenophontas: the accus. plur. of Greek words is frequently found in *as* instead of *es*.—**Socratici fetus**: the student may consult here with profit Zeller's able work, "Socrates and the Socratic Schools."—**Catonis**: cf. *De Prov.* 2, 9, N.; also, Class. Dict.—**opus erat . . . debuit**: observe use of synonyms; the former expresses a want that is indispensable or requisite for obtaining some end or object; the latter expresses the moral obligations resting upon the person (Cato) to satisfy a claim upon him, *quibus se adprobaret*, etc.; vid. Döderlein's & Ramshorn's Lat. Synon.—**in quibus**, etc., i. e. whose evil power he might either break down or at least resist; Lips.—**4. omnia . . . placet, who sigh at everything, and to whom every circumstance furnishes ground**

of complaint.—**nulla non**: cf. *De Brev. Vit.* 2, 1, x. *numquam non*.—**licet**, although, with *tamen* following.—**tranquillitati**, etc.: Lips. aptly remarks, a countenance cloudy, and, so to speak, almost always rainy, disturbs peace or serenity of mind.

VIII.—1. maximam . . . materiam: cf. 1 Tim. vi. 10, "The love of money is the root of all evil."—**quanto levior . . . perdere**: Plato remarked to one who was always pining for wealth, "Thou wretch, if thou wouldst be happy, endeavor not to increase thy store, but to diminish thy desire;" cf. Stobæus, *Florilegium*, x.—**eo . . . quo**: cf. M. 270, obs. 1.—**2. Bion**: not the Greek poet, but the Scythian philosopher, surnamed Borysthenites, who flourished about B.C. 300. He studied philosophy at Athens, and at first attached himself to the Cynic sect under Crates; afterwards he became a disciple of Theodorus, and finally of Theophrastus the Peripatetic. He was somewhat brilliant as a wit, but was notoriously profligate and an unbeliever in the gods. Cic. (*Tusc. Disp.* iii. 26) records one of his witticisms, that "it is useless to tear our hair when we are in grief, since sorrow is not cured by baldness." Vid. Class. Dict.—**calvis quam comatis**, for *comatis quam calvis*; this figure, hyperbaton, especially in the form *hysteron-proteron*, is quite frequent in Seneca; cf. H. 636, 5.—**calvis . . . comatis**, i. e. *the poor . . . the rich*.—**licet**, with *ut* understood and subj., M. 361.—**sine sensu revelli potest**: so Antiphon, the philosopher and orator, wrote of the miserly, "When they take and use of their hoarded money, they suffer no less pain than if they were to lose a piece of their flesh."—**respexit**, *has looked upon with favor*; said of the gods when they turned a propitious eye upon any project. Thus the Romans worshipped Fortune, as *Fortuna respiciens*.

3. Diogenes: the Cynic philosopher, who despised all possessions, in imitation of his master Antisthenes. He clad himself in coarse, shabby garments, lived on what he received in public, and was not at all abashed at the presence of Alexander the Great, of whom he asked no favor but *to get out of his sunshine*. Vid. Class. Dict.—**et effecit . . . posset**, and so managed that nothing could be taken from him.—**paupertatem, inopiam, egestatem**: cf. Döderlein's & Ramshorn's Latin Synonyms; also, *Epist.*

17, 4, 5.—**Aut ego fallor . . . possit**, *either I am deceived, or it is a mark of kingship, that there is one man who cannot be harmed among the covetous, defrauders, robbers, etc.*—**Si quis**, etc.: cf. Xenophon, *Memor.* i. 6, 10.—**illis . . . sint**, H. 387.—**alieno**: in sense of *ignotus*, or *ignobilis*, *ignoble*, *mean*, *low*. The *alienus colonus* was the slave employed to till the land under the *ergastularius*, or keeper of the *ergastulum*. This was the prison attached to the Roman farms throughout Italy, and was regarded as necessary because of the great number of slaves used to till the land after the subjugation of Italy; Lips. Cf. *Dict. Antiq.*; Plutarch, *Tib. Gracchus*.—**in foro**, i. e. *in the bank*, as the banks were located around the *forum*.

4. **respice aegedum mundum**, *just look at the heavens*.—**deos**: the ancient pagans identified heroes and gods with the heavenly bodies.—**Demetrium**, called *Pompeianus*, because he was a freedman of Pompey the Great. Plutarch tells an amusing story of Cato, who, on one occasion, being on a visit to Antioch, and finding the people along the road in festal attire and the magistrates in white robes, took the whole affair as an honor intended especially for himself. Shortly after he ascertained, to his disgust, that everybody was on the lookout for Demetrius, and the philosopher exclaimed, "O wretched city that I am entering!" (Plut. *Pompey* and *Cato Uticensis*).—**Numerus illi cotidie**, etc.: very suggestive of the large numbers of slaves among the Romans. Pliny speaks of one man having five thousand; Athenaeus states that some owned as many as ten and twenty thousand. On the position, occupations, etc., of slaves among the Romans, vid. Guhl & Koner's "The Life of the Greeks and Romans," p. 511-519.—**vicarii**, i. e. *slaves of slaves*, a species of ownership not uncommon in that day.—**cella laxior**: slaves being very numerous, most of them occupied small closets. The best were favored with a *cella laxior*. The monks of the Middle Ages called their small chambers *cellae*, *cells*, which word long ago passed into English.

5. **At Diogeni servus unicus fugit**: cf. § 3, n.; Diog. Laërt. vi. 55.—**immo**, *nay*; in a reply generally denotes the opposite of what the question implies to be the opinion of the questioner. Hence sometimes equivalent to *yes*, sometimes to *no*. It also affirms with emphasis.—**vestiarium**, i. e. *money to buy clothes*,

or, in general, maintenance; cf. *De Benef.* iii. 21.—**detestantium**, sc. *servorum*.—**6. qui nihil ulli debet**, *who is under obligations to no one*; i. e. who has neither a household establishment nor slaves to provide for. Seneca is not to be understood as favoring niggardliness or moroseness in preference to cheerful domestic life; neither does he approve of absolute poverty and meanness, but only such frugality as is freed from the cares of wealth, troops of dependents, etc. Cf. n. below, *optimus pecuniae*, etc.—**nisi quod**, *except in so far as*, or, *except that*; cf. Z. 627; M. 442.—**Habiliora sunt corpora**, etc., i. e. those are more suitable and available for warfare, not those who are colossal in size and loose in build, but who are of moderate stature and compact build.—**in bello**, v. l. *bella*, or *pusilla*.—**contrahi**: cf. Virg. *Aen.* xii. 491.—**Optimus pecuniae modus est**: cf. *Epist.* 2, 5, where Seneca says that the proper amount of wealth is to have first what is necessary, and then what is sufficient. Lips. quotes Plato, who, when asked, “How much property should a man possess?” replied, “Just enough to keep him from scheming or planning, and place him beyond the reach of necessity.” Epictetus also holds that the body is to be the measure of wealth, just as a shoe should be neither too large nor too small for the foot.

IX.—1. sine qua . . . non satis patent, *without which not any riches suffice, and also not any riches are attainable that are at all satisfactory to us*.—**nec . . . non**: cf. M. 460, obs. 1.—**et usus . . . metiri**, i. e. to estimate a thing by its power to confer practical benefit, not by its power to embellish.—**libido . . . fluat**, *let our desires or longings go out after necessary objects*.—**membris nostris inniti**: wealthy and luxurious citizens were in the habit of being carried about in a sort of palanquin or litter. The slaves who supported it were called *lecticarii*, and the couch itself *lectica*. For an interesting chapter on this mode of locomotion among the ancients, cf. Kitto's Biblical Illustrations (Job and the Poetical Books), p. 407, Am. ed.

2. gulam temperare: with accus. *temperare* signifies *to control*; cf. Arnold's Latin Prose Comp. 220.—**etiam si . . . adhibere**: this may be regarded as a parenthetical clause; then all the infinitives in the passage will depend upon *discamus*.—**id**

agere, to exert one's self; cf. Z. 614 b, 748.—**a nobis** = *a nostris animis*.—**magna armamenta pendentibus**: a beautiful figure drawn from a ship—"excessive riches, like huge and unmanageable rudders, sink rather than direct." Lipsius also quotes Democrates, an old philosopher, as saying: "Long garments embarrass the body; excessive riches the mind."—**tela**, i. e. *fortunae*.

3. Quidni consulitur, i. e. why is it not made profitable to us by reflection.—**sine populo**, i. e. *without guests*.—**sed . . . flec-tendum est**: the *metae*, goals, were turning-points at each end of the Roman circus, around which the horses and chariots had to turn seven times. Thus the one who had the inner track, and who turned nearest the *metae*, would, other things being equal, finish the course first and win the race.

4. habet, v. l. *habebo*; *impensa*, cost, or expense, is here subject of *habet*.—**quarum dominus vix . . . perlegit**: many wealthy Romans heaped together large collections of books; but, in general, the possession of a large library was no certain index of the literary attainments of its owner—often quite the reverse; and frequently it happened that a man never read even the titles (*indices*) of all his books.—**turba**, sc. *librorum*, a multitude of books; cf. *Epist.* 2, 2, 3, where, among other good advice, Seneca says, "Read always the most approved authors, and reserve some particular sentiment for the day's meditation."—**Quadraginta milia . . . arserunt**, v. l. *quadringenta milia*. Under Demetrius Phalereus (expelled from Athens about B.C. 307) the Alexandrian library increased to 50,000 volumes. Afterwards, according to some authorities, it reached the number of 700,000 volumes, including in its vast compass nearly all the best works in Grecian, Roman, Indian, and Egyptian literature. The largest part was destroyed during the siege of Alexandria by Julius Caesar. In A.D. 389 the Serapium (temple of Jupiter Serapis) was burned, and the 300,000 volumes therein were partly burned and partly dispersed under the direction of Theophilus, archbishop of Alexandria. Vid. Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," etc., vol. iii. p. 144; v. 228, Am. ed.—**Livius**: Titus Livy, the historian. This account is probably given in book 112, now lost.

5. servilium literarum: the common branches of learning, as reading, writing, etc., as opposed to *liberales literae*, the higher

and more advanced culture. Some suppose the *serviles literae* to refer to the marks or characters branded into the arms of slaves, as if the *ignari* of the text were unable to read these.—**6. Hones-tius . . . quam . . . effuderint**: *quam* is followed by subj. either with or without *ut*; H. 502, 2.—**hocce impensae**, i. e. for books; another reading is, *in hos impensus . . . effuderim*.—**in Corinthia**, sc. *vasa*; those made at Corinth, of gold, silver, bronze, were highly prized by the Romans; cf. *De Brev. Vit.* 12, 1, κ.—**Quid habes cur ignoscas**, *what reason have you for pardoning*. The subj. is used after *cur*, *quamobrem*, *quare*, when a phrase, asking the reason for which, precedes; M. 363, obs. 3; Z. 562.—**armaria**, *cupboards*, for the preservation of books. As ancient books consisted of rolls, the *armaria* were used for keeping, not for using them on the spot. Hence ancient libraries do not seem to have required as much space as those in our day. Seneca (below, § 7) appears to refer to open repositories along the walls, reaching up to the ceiling, *tecto tenus exstructa loculamenta*. Cf. Becker's "Gallus," p. 234; Guhl & Koner's "The Life of the Greeks and Romans," pp. 466, 529.—**citro**, v. l. *cedro*.—**corpora**: used by later Latin and Middle-Age writers to mean the works of an author, similar to our expression "body of divinity." Some read, *opera*.—**cui voluminum . . . titulique**: the titles and frontispieces of the books of the time were often richly ornamented. Nor did the custom die away with the luxury and glory of Rome, but was sedulously retained by the monks in later centuries in their copying the Scriptures, missals, and classical writers; this can readily be seen at Wolfenbüttel and other libraries on the Continent.

7. cum imaginibus suis, etc.: Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxiv. 2) relates that gold, silver, and brazen images of great authors were placed in libraries, a custom first introduced by Asinius Pollio. The ceilings of the room were not infrequently fretted with gold and ornamental glass of different figures. The floor was of Carystic marble, to aid in strengthening the eyes by its dark color.

X.—1. onera et inpedimenta crurum, i. e. chains and shackles on the legs.—**facere (vitam) = agere (vitam)**.—**2. Nullo melius nomine . . . meruit**, *for no reason has nature deserved more grati-*

tude from us.—**Omnes . . . copulati sumus**: a figure taken from the custom of fastening a prisoner to his keeper, the right arm of the former being attached to the left of the latter. St. Peter was secured to a keeper on each side of him (Acts xii. 6); St. Paul was so fastened to the soldier that kept him (Acts xxviii. 16). Cf. *De Ira*, iii. 8, 4.—**aurea catena**: referring to kings, nobles, rich men, etc., who may rightly be regarded as slaves to wealth and rank.

3. adligatique . . . adligaverunt: cf. *Epist.* 5, 6—"as the same chain binds together both the prisoner and the soldier (who keeps him), so those things which are wholly unlike march side by side; fear follows (and goes along with) hope."—**quibusdam sua**, sc. *imperia*. The sentiment is twofold: some are under the domination of their appetites and passions; others, as rulers and magistrates, are weighed down by their own authority, their very dignities becoming, as it were, a burden.—**quosdam sacerdotia**: certain priests were prohibited from leaving the city, such as the priests of Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus; others could not leave Italy, lest the sacred rites should be intermitted; cf. *Livy*, ii. 52.

4. Exiguæ saepe areae, etc., i. e. a skilful writer will write much on very small tablets; *exiguæ areae* = small tablets.—**pedem** = *aream* or *solum*; others suggest = *pedaturam* or *mensuram*.—**ferentis**, for *ferentes*; on present mode of spelling, cf. *De Prov.* 3, 7, N.—**5. Non sunt . . . permittamus**: cf. *De Ira*, iii. 7, 2.—**speique nostrae adludentia**, *things that give encouragement to our hopes*.—**praerupta**, *dangerous*.—**6. Multi . . . sunt**, i. e. kings, princes, etc.; cf. *De Clement.* i. 8, 2.—**suffixos**: as Prometheus was fastened to a rock.—**humana**: some add *lege (lex)*.—**secundos**: others read *sequentes* or *sequiores*, i. e. *tristiores*.

XI.—1. nec pedetentim, v. l. *et pedetentim*.—**nec habet . . . timeat**: cf. *M.* 363.—**mancipia**: cf. 1, 5, N.—**sed . . . quoque**: this is rarely found, and when used denotes merely an addition, and not a rising to something more important; *M.* 461 a.—**precaria**: *precarium* is that which is given to enjoy at the will of the donor—a thing committed to our care, but which is likely at any time to be demanded; hence the force of *repositibus*. As

in many other of our derived words, *precarious* is a general term, taking its rise from a particular thought.—**vivitque . . . redditurus**; cf. *Consol. ad Marc.* 10; *De Prov.* 5.—**commodatus**, *lent*; used of things that are themselves *in natura* to be returned, while *mutuum dare* is used of things for which an equivalent is given.—**2. Magna . . . mercede**, *a great expense* of time, care, and labor.—**factum**, sc. *opere et arte*, the expression for *plate*.

3. Adpellaverit, *si* omitted, as often with fut. perf. In such instances it is by no means certain that the sentence should not be a question; *Z.* 784.—**animum meliorem**: a mind improved by the practice of virtue and acquisition of wisdom.—**Reverti unde veneris**: the Stoics held that the soul of man was materialistic, describing it sometimes as fire, sometimes as breath, diffused through the body, and forming a bond of union for the body; cf. Zeller's "Stoics," etc., p. 198–201. They also thought that after death the soul would return *in coelum et astra* (the *weltseele* of the Germans); Lips.—**spiritus in servilia numerandus**, i. e. our lives must be numbered among the things that do not belong to us.—**servilia**, v. l. *servitia*.—**ait Cicero**: cf. *pro Milone*, 34; also, *De Ira*, i. 2, 3.—**prae se ferunt**: gladiators usually manifested the greatest contempt for death, and received the sword (*recipere ferrum*) with much firmness. Their fate, however, rested with the people, who pressed or turned down the thumb if they wished them to live, or turned the thumb up if they desired them to die.

4. animose, *spiritedly*; cf. Trench, "Study of Words," p. 59, where he remarks on the English word *animosity*, as expressive of enmity and hate, these too often stirring men to a lively and vigorous activity.—**vivo**: Lips. conjectures *vivus*, which is certainly consistent with the thought; *pro homine* might then be rendered *worthy of a man*, which is the meaning of the words.—

5. Quicquid enim fieri potest . . . molliet: very similar to a maxim of Socrates, "as those who are sailing in a serene and peaceful sea have in readiness all things that are useful for safety in a tempest, so those who are wise, in prosperity, make ready protection against the day of adversity."—**Sciebam**: cf. *Consol. ad Marc.* 9.—**conclamatum est**, i. e. over the remains of the dead.—**inmaturas . . . praecessit**: it was the custom to

attend funeral processions of children at night with torches and wax tapers.—**capulus**: Fickert adopts this as on the whole the best reading; others read *copulatas*.

6. mali . . . auctoris, reporter of evil, or of bad news.—**Publius**: *Syrus*, so called from the country of his birth, was a slave manumitted by his master, whose name he took, and hence is known as *Publius Syrus*. He flourished about B.C. 45, and became celebrated at Rome as a mimographer. His mimes were early committed to writing, and there is extant a collection of about one thousand lines, in iambic and trochaic measures, containing proverbs, apophthegms, and witty sayings. He exhibits a profound insight into human nature, and his wit is unsurpassed by writers of any age. Cf. Dunlop's "Roman Literature," vol. i. p. 332, Am. ed.; also, Class. Dict.—**verba ad . . . spectantia**: the *cavea* was the entire portion of the theatre assigned to spectators. The senators and other dignitaries occupied the lowest part, the middle classes the next above, and the *plebs* the highest. Hence *verba* here signifies such vulgar commonplaces as suit the lowest society.—**cothurno . . . sipario**, the buskin . . . the smaller curtain, by metonymy for tragedy and comedy; cf. Hor. *Ars Poet.* 278, etc.—**et hoc ait**: *et*, but or but also. In a negative proposition, followed by an affirmative, when the same thought is expressed, *et* is used where we use *but*; cf. M. 433, obs. 2.—**Cuivis potest**, etc.: Lipsius quotes a similar sentiment from Xenophon, πάντα ἄνθρωπον δεῖ προσδοκᾶν ἅπαντα.

7. praetextam et augurale et lora patricia: *praetexta*, sc. *toga*, was the cloak worn by the higher magistrates and the priests; *augurale*, the augur's staff (Lips. prefers *auguralem*, sc. *togam*); *lora patricia*, the shoes or slippers of red Parthian leather, worn in the days of the republic by the three highest magistrates, the consul, praetor, and curule aedile; but in later times used by all the senators, marked with the ivory crescent, or Roman c, which stood for *centum*, as that was the original number of senators.—**exportatio**: a reading much disputed; Lips. conjectures *exspatio*, an expression of supreme contempt.

8. proculcatio: post-Aug., derived from *pro* and *calx*, in reference to the ancient custom of kings putting their foot upon the necks of the conquered. This practice in time yielded to that

of compelling captives to pass under the yoke; hence, *to subjugate*.—**dominus**, i. e. *tyrannus*.—**carnifex**, the public executioner at Rome. His office was considered so degrading and odious that he was not allowed to reside within the city, but lived outside the *porta metia*, near the place where slaves were punished. Cf. Dict. Antiq.—**aliena genua**: suggestive of the position of captives, kneeling and stretching out their hands to their captors.—**numquid**: an interrog. particle, *quid* in this case having no meaning; Z. 351, note; M. 451 b; *num* expects the answer *no*.—**Pompeio**, v. l. *Ptolemaeo*. This Pompey was, according to Lipsius, probably a great-grandson of Pompey the Great, and son of that Sextius Pompey who was consul with Sextus Apuleius during the last year of the reign of Augustus. Being a relative of Augustus, he was of course related to Caligula.—**Caius**, i. e. Caius Caesar Caligula, emperor A.D. 37–41, son of Germanicus and Agrippina, grand-daughter of Augustus, and nephew of Tiberius, whom he succeeded; cf. Class. Dict.; also, Merivale, “History of the Romans under the Empire,” vol. v. p. 166, etc. The incident here mentioned, which is in keeping with Caligula’s character, is valuable historically, being recorded only by Seneca.—**aperuisset . . . domum**, i. e. he had received Pompey into the palace, ostensibly conferring a great honor upon him.—**tot flumina**, etc.: a reference again to the wealth and extensive domains of some of the Roman citizens at that time; cf. *Epist.* 89, 20; *De Benef.* iii. 8.—**heres**, i. e. Caligula.—**publicum funus**: cf. Dict. Antiq. Lips. expresses wonder that neither Suetonius nor Dio Cassius makes mention of this incident, and exclaims, “Who can enumerate all the enormities of that monster!”

9. Seianus: Aclius Sejanus, the corrupt minister of the gloomy Tiberius, who for eight years held absolute sway over the emperor. On finding that Sejanus was purposing to dethrone him, Tiberius gave secret orders to put him to death. The Roman populace tore his body in pieces, and cast them into the Tiber. Cf. Class. Dict.—**Croesum**, the king of Lydia, famed for his wealth, was conquered by Cyrus the Great, and ordered to be burned. While on the funeral pile he called out, “Solon, Solon,” several times. Cyrus having asked the reason of this, Croesus stated that Solon had in former years warned him in regard to

the uncertainty of human felicity. The Persian monarch was struck with the truth of this sentiment, and so spared the life of Croesus, and made him his friend and counsellor. Vid. the story, as told by Herodotus, i. 29-33, 86-90.—**ad Jugurtham . . . spectavit**: Jugurtha was the adopted son of Micipsa, and, in conjunction with Adherbal and Hiempsal, king of Numidia. Lips. thinks Seneca inaccurate in attributing to one year what it had taken five to accomplish. It is true the entire war lasted five years, but Caius Marius was in chief command only during the last and successful year, B.C. 107-106. Hence Seneca is correct in embracing the change he mentions within one year. Vid. Class. Dict.—**intra . . . quam**, *within that very year*.

10. Ptolemaium: king of Mauretania (ab. A.D. 18-40), grandson of Mark Antony and Cleopatra, and thus a descendant of the Ptolemies of Egypt. He was summoned to Rome, and soon after put to death by Caligula, who coveted his great wealth.—**Mithridates**: one of the Arsacidae, and placed upon the throne of Armenia by Tiberius, A.D. 35. Caligula threw him into prison; Claudius released him, and sent him back to Armenia, A.D. 47, where he reigned till expelled and put to death by his nephew, Rhadamisthus, A.D. 52.—**alter**, i. e. Mithridates: **alter**, Ptolemy.—**ut . . . mitteretur**, i. e. in good faith, for he was slain on the road by Caligula's orders, for the reason given above.—**11. ne aut . . . laboremus**, *that we neither labor over needless things, nor spend time in vain*.

XII.—1. semper . . . similes: cf. *Epist.* 98, 8, where he calls this class of persons *satagios*, *over-anxious*.—**formicis**: a rather unfortunate illustration, since the fact is not as here stated; cf. Prov. vi. 6; xxx. 25; also, Hor. *Sat.* i. 1, 33.—**2. inquietam inertiam**: this whole picture of busy idlers is so graphic and true that it applies as well in the 19th as in any preceding century.—**iudicium, sponsalia**: Fickert, in a note, gives it as his opinion that perhaps *ad* should precede each of these words. Haase inserts *ad*.—**sponsalia**: these were an agreement to marry, made in such form as to give each party a right of action in case of non-performance, and the offending party was condemned in such damages as the judge deemed right. They might be contracted

by those not under seven years of age. Cf. Dict. Antiq. (*Matrimonium*).—**lecticam**: the *lecticae* were of two kinds, for convenience of the living and for carrying the dead. Some were of great beauty and costliness. The *lectica* on which the body of Augustus was carried to the grave was made of ivory and gold, and was covered with purple and gold drapery. Cf. Dict. Antiq.

3. lux orta: it was a Roman custom to pay visits of respect, etc., at dawn.—**nomenculatores**: a class of persons at Rome whose business it was to know the names of all the citizens. They were frequently employed by candidates for office, in order that these might be able to greet even perfect strangers as old acquaintances. They were also in the service of the wealthier people, to stand at the front door and announce to the inmates of the house the names of those who had left their morning greetings.—**4. auscultatio**, etc.: in other words, *a prying curiosity*.—**quae . . . audiuntur**, i. e. matters pertaining to rulers or princes; Lips.—**Democritum**: cf. 2, 3, N.—**ita coepisse**, etc.: Democritus begins his work *On Peace of Mind* (*περὶ εὐθυμίας*) with the words quoted.

XIII.—1. This short chapter is a continuation of the thought in the preceding.—**negotatio mihi respondebit**, *my business will answer my expectations*.—**2. nec illi omnia ut voluit cedunt**, *nor do all things turn out as he has wished*.

XIV.—1. Faciles etiam nos facere debemus . . . indulgemus, i. e. we ought to cultivate a complaisant, yielding disposition, that we may not become too obstinate in holding on to our established ideas and affairs.—**transeamusque in ea**, etc.: Lips. quotes from Aristotle a similar sentiment; also, a fragment of Aristonymus, who says, "It is the office of a good pilot to suit his vessel to the changes of the winds, and of a wise man to the changes of fortune or circumstances."—**necesse est . . . sit**: cf. M. 373, obs. 1.

2. sibi adplicet, etc. These Stoic requirements only reached the outer edge of Christianity. We find a beautiful self-repose, but not the Christian self-sacrifice!—**naufragio**: Zeno's

ship, with its valuable cargo, was wrecked on the Attic coast, when he was about thirty years old. Forthwith he applied himself to the study of philosophy, heard Crates, and subsequently became the founder of the Stoic school.—**Zenon**: cf. 1, 7, N.—**Theodoro**: a Cyrenaic philosopher, usually called the Atheist, because of the profane freedom with which he spoke against the gods. This caused his banishment from Cyrene, and also, at a later date (B.C. 367), his exile from Athens. Thence he went to Alexandria, where he was employed by Ptolemy, king of Egypt, to go as ambassador to Lysimachus, king of Thrace. The same free style of speech deeply offended Lysimachus, and he came near losing his life. The answer recorded by Seneca saved him from crucifixion.—**tyrannus**, i. e. Lysimachus.—**et quidem**, sc. *eam* after *et*. *Is* refers to some noun going before, and if this noun is to receive some additional predicate, *quidem* is used, meaning, *and that too*; Z. 699.—**placeas**: for subj., cf. 9, 6, N.—**mea interesse**: for ablat. of the possessive instead of gen. of personal, vid. Arnold's Lat. Prose Comp. 203, 2.—**supra terram**, i. e. on the cross, as above stated.

3. Canus Iulius: a Stoic philosopher, put to death by Caligula, on a charge of being a conspirator with Aemilius Lepidus. Observe that the *nomen* and *cognomen* are transposed, as is often the case in Tacitus, Pliny, etc.—**Phalaris ille**, *that well-known Phalaris* of our day, i. e. Caligula. This infamous tyrant is appropriately named after the cruel and inhuman ruler of Agrigentum in Sicily (B.C. 570-554).—**duci**, sc. *ad mortem* or *ad supplicium*.—**mors beneficium**: another of the horrible brood of tyrants (Tiberius) is said to have replied to one begging for death, *nondum tecum in gratiam redii*.—**4. fides**: Caligula was not accustomed to recall or to commute sentence of death.—**decem medios**, etc.: by a law of Tiberius ten days intervened between sentence and execution; Dio Cass. 57.—**verisimile non est** = *it is hardly credible*.

5. ex morte sua . . . habere, *to make his own death a subject of investigation*.—**snus**: Lips. suggests *unus*.—**Caesari deo nostro**: a sarcastic reference to Caligula's self-deification.—**promisitque**, etc. He is said to have fulfilled this promise by appearing in a vision to one of his friends, named Antiochus.—**6. Caianae cla-**

dis magna portio! i. e. you alone constitute a great part of the loss which that tyrant and murderer inflicted upon the world!

XV.—1. libidinis lucra damnaque, etc., *the advantages and disadvantages of desire are equally hateful*.—**Agitur animus in noctem**: this is the result, he teaches, to which the pure mind is brought by reflection upon the vices, follies, and sins of mankind: gloom, sadness, avoidance and hatred of men and the world, without any hope or promise of the dawn of a better day, or of the coming of any light upon the moral darkness. The image in Seneca's mind is a man overtaken during a journey by the darkness of night. The mists obscure his pathway; he becomes frightened; and, instead of treading cautiously, he runs in every direction, and flees from harmless objects (Lips.).—**2. Democritum**: cf. 2, 3, N.—**Heraclitum**, born in Ephesus, flourished ab. B.C. 513. He wrote a work *On Nature* (περὶ φύσεως), and from the obscurity of his style he obtained the title of σκοτεινός. He is frequently termed "the weeping philosopher," in contrast with Democritus. Cf. Zeller's "Stoics," etc., p. 373-375; *De Ira*, ii, 10, 4; *Juv. Sat.* x. 32.—**flebat, ridebat**: force of the imperf.?

3. Adice = adjice.—**Bion**: cf. 8, 3, N.—**initis**, v. l. *mimicis*, as though Seneca had written, *negotia hominum sunt ut mimica*, to correspond with the thought above, *nilhil magnum*, etc., or with the Latin adage, *vita mimus*; cf. *Epist.* 77.—**4. quia aliquis filiam efferat**, *because some one bears his daughter to the grave*.—**efferat**: subj., since the cause is stated on some other authority than the writer; cf. M. 357; B. & M. 1255.—**spectator**: Lipsius quotes aptly from Martial (*Epig.* i. 33):

"Amissum non flet cum sola est Gellia patrem,
Si quis adest, iussae prosiliunt lacrimae.
Non lnet quisquis laudari, Gellia, querit,
Ille dolet vere, qui sine teste dolet."

—**faciant**, sc. *hoc*.—**5. Rutilius**: cf. *De Prov.* 3, 5, N.—**clientibus**, i. e. Septimius, who had been an officer under Pompey, and Popilius, who had been defended by Cicero.—**simul de se . . . facere**: the republic may be said to have perished with Cato, inasmuch as he was the last who seemed to embody in himself the old republic.

6. quorum . . . placeat . . . desideretur : cf. *De Prov.* 2, 6, N.—**Tanto fortior, tanto felicior :** a formula of praise and encouragement; Lips.—**non tu dignus . . . fortuna posset :** freely rendered, *not that the gods deemed thee worthy of an ill fate, but undeserving that fortune should have power over thee.*—**7. manus iniciendae sunt,** i. e. either to be whipped or despatched; Lips.—**Regulum :** cf. *De Prov.* 3, 9, N.—**8. sub persona viventium :** said of persons who always live under a mask, after the manner of play-actors.—**9. revilescat :** post-Aug.—used only once.

10. Illa . . . haec, the former . . . the latter, i. e. *solitudo, frequentia.*—**Cato,** i. e. the younger, according to Plutarch; but Hor. (*Od.* iii. 21, 11) speaks of the elder Cato as given to this habit.—**11. ad numeros,** i. e. *ad modulos.*—**incessu ipso :** cf. *Nat. Quaest.* vii. 31, 2, “We move on tiptoe; we do not walk, but we glide or slip along.”—**detrimentum,** *disgrace, dishonor.*—**meliores acioresque :** relaxation is a preparation for labor. The bow, the lyre, and man are invigorated by rest (Dio Chrysostom, quoted by Lips.).—**Ut fertilibus . . . imperandum,** i. e. as we ought not to force our fertile lands to be productive, or tax them beyond their strength.—**12. somnus . . . mors erit :** cf. Plato, *De Legib.* vii. c. xiii., where similar sentiments are expressed.—**cogerentur = congregarentur.**

13. dixi, i. e. *didici*; Lips.—**Pollionem Asinium :** a poet and historian, as well as orator, of the Augustan age, born about B.C. 76.—**decumam** (or *decimam*), sc. *horam.*—**ne epistulas,** etc.: according to Plutarch, this was the custom of Archias, tyrant of Thebes. On one occasion while he was banqueting a letter was brought to him disclosing a conspiracy against him. He refused to read it, with the words, *in crastinum seria.* Before morning he was slain.—**interiunxerunt,** sc. *se a gravioribus laboribus*; cf. *Epist.* 83, 6.—**14. novam relationem :** cf. *Dict. Antiq.* (Senatus).—**nox immunis :** those who during the day had been engaged with the enemy were relieved from the watch at night.—**quod . . . sit :** for subj., vid. Z. 558.

15. Liber . . . inventor vini, i. e. Bacchus.—**vegetat :** post-Aug., *enlivens, quickens,* etc.—**Solonem :** Solon, the lawgiver of Athens, born about B.C. 638, died B.C. 558, at the age of 80.—**Arcesilaum :** Arcesilaus, or Arcesilas, was founder of the New

Academy, and lived at close of 3d century B.C. The scepticism of this school as to our capacity for obtaining truth is sufficiently expressed by the formula of Arcesilaus, "that he knew nothing, not even his own ignorance." Vid. *Class. Dict.*; also, Zeller's "Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics," p. 499-505.—**Catoni**: cf. § 10, N.—**facilius efficiet . . . turpem Catonem**, *whoever shall reproach him will find it more easy to prove that the crime of drunkenness is honorable than that Cato was base*, because, forsooth, Seneca would have us believe that Cato's towering virtues overtopped this vicious personal habit.—**aliquando tamen**: observe use of *aliquando* in connection with the thought of this sentence. The word approximates in meaning to *prope umquam*.

16. Graeco poetae, i. e. Anacreon; cf. *Anac. Odes*, xxxi., $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$, $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ *μανῆναι*, etc.—**Platoni, frustra poeticas**, etc.: Lips. refers to a passage in Plato as the one most probably quoted here (*Phaedrus*, xxii. 245).—**Aristoteli, nullum magnum**, etc.: cf. *Problem.* § 30, *Quaest.* I.; also, Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* i. 33), "Aristoteles quidem ait, omnes ingeniosos melancholicos esse."

17. quamdiu apud se est, *as long as he is sane*.—**escendere**: cf. *Vit. Beat.* 23; *De Prov.* 1, 6, N.—**Habes**, etc.: here we have what may be considered the epilogue of the whole book.—**quae possint**: Z. 558.—**nisi . . . circumit**, v. l. *circumeat*.—Lips. calls attention to the fact that the promise implied in *tueri* and *restituere tranquillitatem* is not here carried out by the writer, or at best only in part. Possibly the criticism is too severe, and Seneca ought not to be tied down to the rules of a formal and set treatise.

DE BREVITATE VITAE.

ARGUMENTUM.—I., II. The complaint of all, vulgar and illustrious, concerning the shortness of life is false, unfounded. Nature acts kindly towards us while we give ourselves up to neither lusts nor vices, nor errors hanging over our life. III., IV. Hence men make no account of their time, and are never rightly mindful of their mortality. V., VI. Examples of illustrious men seeking repose in earnest, as Augustus, Cicero, Livius Drusus. Some spend their time in light, trivial matters. VII., VIII. Few understand the science of living and dying, and complaints about occupation and business are vain. IX. Therefore do not put off till to-morrow what can be done to-day. X. Those occupied with trifles lead a very short life. XI., XII. Old men about to die basely complain of the easy things of life, and say that they have lived only a little while. The so-called easy and delicate are to be numbered among the *occupati*. XIII., XIV. The *delicati* do not live more easily and quietly than they who are busied with useless literary studies. The follies of grammarians are adduced, and he shows that they alone are at ease who have leisure for wisdom. XV., XVI. Praises of wisdom. Levity and inconstancy of the *delicati* censured. XVII., XVIII. The joys also of these are full of fear; from one quarter or another they tend to escape from us. He exhorts Paulinus to seek repose (*otium*) by fleeing from dangerous public duty. XIX., XX. He urges him to the study of wisdom as to a friend indeed. The wretched condition of those who labor at the beck of others, and the folly of those not seeking repose and retirement willingly. Turannius an example of the latter.

Cap. I.—1. **Pauline**: Pompeius Paulinus, who commanded in Germany, A.D. 58, and in connection with L. Antistius completed the dam to restrain the inundations of the Rhine. He was father of Pompeia Paulina, wife of Seneca. See INTRODUCTION, p. 13. The date of the present treatise is not accurately known, but it was written subsequent to the reign of Caligula, and is probably one of the later works of Seneca.—**quod . . . decurrant**: subj., because the thought of another than the author; cf. H. 516, 1.; B. & M. 1255; A. & G. 341 d.—**adfectus**: usual force of the word is, a *mental state* or *disposition*; it means here rather, *physical*

tendency, i. e. to a short life.—**maximi medicorum**, i. e. Hippocrates. In some respects he was the most celebrated physician of ancient or modern times. He is the reputed author of a series of medical works, numbering sixty volumes, called the “Hippocratic Collection,” which have been commented on by various writers during more than two thousand years. One of his maxims is frequently quoted, “What cannot be cured by medicine is cured by the knife; and what cannot be cured by the knife is cured by fire.” Hippocrates was born B.C. 460, and is said to have lived to be a hundred years old. Vid. *Class. Dict.*—**exclamatio**: cf. Aphorisms of Hippocrates, ὁ βίος βραχύς· ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρή.

2. Aristotelis: Seneca appears to be wrong in referring to the great Stagirite here, as Lips. shows, by quoting a contrary statement of Aristotle's, viz., “Man lives a longer time than any other animal, the elephant alone excepted.” Cicero, also (*Tusc. Disp.* iii. 28), remarks, “Theophrastus, when dying, is said to have found fault with Nature, because she had given to stags and crows so long a life, but to men so short.”—**exigentis** = *expostulantis*; v. l. *exigenti*.—**istam**, i. e. Nature.—**educerent**, sc. *vitam*; Haase reads *edurent*.

3. Non exiguum, etc.: for similar sentiment, cf. Herod. vii. 46.—**Satis longa vita** et, etc.: cf. the well-known passage in Sallust (*Jugurth.* 1): *falso queritur de natura sua genus humanum*, etc.—**si . . . conlocaretur**: force of impf. subj. in conditional sentence? H. 509; B. & M. 1267; A. & G. 308. The conclusion *data est* in the indic. forms a mixed period, with the condition in the subj.; H. 511, II.—**ultima . . . necessitate**: a euphemism for *death*, abl. absol. with *cogente*.—**quam**: antecedent *vitam* understood, subject accus. of *transisse*.—**ire** = *pergere*, *labi*, etc.—**4. ita aetas . . . patet**, *even so our age, if it be well employed, will prove very fair and long enough*; Lodge.—**disponenti**, sc. *ei*.

II.—1. Alium . . . avaritia, etc.: cf. Hor. *Od.* i. 1; *Sat.* i. 1.—**ex alienis . . . suspensa**, *always dependent on the will of others*.—**numquam non**, *at all times*; with *non* placed before, it means *sometimes*; Z. 755, 17.—**alienis periculis**, sc. *quae inferant*.—**suis**, i. e. *ut ea evitent*.—**ingratus superiorum cultus**, i. e. a devotion

to one's superiors that meets with no thanks in return.—**2. affectatio alienae fortunae**, i. e. a striving to amass a fortune equal to that of another.—**suae odium**, sc. *fortunae*; they are Timon-like, misanthropic, dissatisfied with themselves.—**marcentis oscitantis**, for *marcentes, oscitantes*; for the termination is for *es*, see Z. 68, note.—**maximum poetarum**: probably the poet Ennius is meant. The Romans used to call him "our Ennius," by way of distinction, and he was regarded as the father of Latin poetry. Born at Rudiae, in Calabria, B.C. 239; died B.C. 169. Bouillet, in Lemaire's "*Bibliotheca Classica Latina*," holds that Menander is the poet here referred to.—**verum esse non dubitem**: *non dubito* regularly takes subj., in some writers occasionally accus. with infin.; cf. M. 375, obs. 2; B. & M. 1234.—**omne spatium**, i. e. the whole period of a man's earthly existence.

3. mersos, sc. *iis*, i. e. *vitiis*.—**recurrere ad se**, to recover themselves.—**veluti**, etc.: the same figure is used in *De Tranq.* 2, 1.—**quorum**: predic. gen.—**in confesso**: adverbial phrase, *confessedly*.—**ad . . . concurritur**, i. e. to whose happiness everything conspires.—**4. sanguinem educit**, i. e. by the rupture of a blood-vessel.—**nihil liberi**: no time free from business engagements.—**populus** = *multitudo*, a frequent post-Aug. force of the word.—**Omnis** = *omnes*; see § 2, N.—**Nemo . . . vindicat**, no one claims himself as his own.—**consumimur**, i. e. we are made use of, the one the advantage and interest of the other; v. l. *consumitur*.

5. quorum nomina ediscuntur: probably a reference to the fact that those who wished public preferment kept a *nomenclator*, concerning whom see *De Tranq.* 12, 3, N. Possibly it may refer to prominent men of the court and distinguished orators. Cf. Becker's "*Gallus*," p. 212.—**queruntur**, etc.: they complain of the haughtiness of eminent men, that they have no leisure at their service when they wish to approach them.—**ad latus . . . recepit**, i. e. *tecum ambulando*.

III.—1. inputes: cf. *De Tranq.* 6; also, 2, 2.—**quoniam . . . volebas**: *quoniam* takes indic. when the writer gives his own opinions or assigns a reason on his own authority; the subj. is used when he gives the opinions of another. All causal and relative conjunctions take subj. when they introduce a statement or

reason given on any other authority than that of the writer. Cf. H. 576; B. & M. 1255; Z. 544-49.—**cum** . . . **faceres**: impf. subj. in narration; Z. 578; H. 521, II. 2.—**Omnia licet** . . . **consentiant**: concessive subj. According to Michaelis, the author's zeal for brevity has injured perspicuity, and so he would supply *mirandum* after *unum*. The sense evidently is, *though all . . . by common consent signify their wonder at this one thing*.—**exigua contentio est de modo** = *contentio est de exiguo modo*.—**in vitam suam incedere**, i. e. *to encroach upon their life*.—**eius**, sc. *vitae*.—**vitam**: supply *tamen*.

2. **simul** = *simul ac*.—**Libet** . . . **comprehendere aliquem**, i. e. I will detain any one of the elderly, for the purpose of interrogating him, as follows, etc.—**premitur** = *agitur*.—**isto tempore**: *iste* is called the demonstrative of the second person; it denotes what is nearest the hearer, *that of yours*. Cf. Arnold's Lat. Prose Comp. 377 e; H. 357, 2; B. & M. 1028.—**rex**, v. l. *reus*.—**officiosa** . . . **discursatio**, i. e. a running about in an obliging way, for the purpose of showing the city to your friends: *discursatio*, post-Aug.; cf. Lactantius, *De Opificio Dei*, 3.

3. **Adice**, i. e. *adjice*.—**manu fecimus**, i. e. which we have brought on by our own vices and riotous living. Seneca often uses this mode of expression.—**quod**, sc. *tempus*.—**quando**: cf. Z. 346.—**quotus quisque**, etc.: literally, *which in the series every day passed*, etc.; render, *how many days?* Thus rendered, *quotus* has always a disparaging sense, i. e. *how few!* M. 74, obs. 2; vid. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* ii. 4.—**quando** . . . **voltus**, i. e. not deformed by anger, fear, or other passions and desires.—**quantum**, sc. *vitae tuae*.—**conversatio**, viz. *cum amica*, above.—**quam exiguum** . . . **relictum sit**, *how little of yours has been left to yourself*.

IV.—1. **velut** . . . **perditis**, *you expend as if from a full and abundant treasury*.—**sit**: potential subj. after *forsitan*, *fortasse*; H. 485; B. & M. 1177.—**timetis**, v. l. *tenetis*.—**A quinquagesimo anno**: there was exemption from military service after the fiftieth year.—**sexagesimus**, etc.: an allusion to the law that senators were not required to serve after the sixtieth year.—2. **inde** = *de eo*.—**quo pauci perduxerunt**: supply *vitam*; literally, *to which few have drawn out life*, i. e. *to which few have attained*.

3. si tuto liceat, *if they may do so (descendere)* with safety; viz. the great, kings, rulers, etc.; cf. *De Clement.* i. 8, 2, addressed to the emperor Nero, where Seneca writes, "It is slavery of the highest magnitude, not to be able to become less."—**ut . . . la-cessat aut quatiat**: concessive subj.; before *ut* supply *fac* or *sine*; H. 515, III.; B. & M. 1283.—**te**, v. 1, *se*.

V.—1. non desiit: Augustus, a master in state-craft, several times gave out that he meant to resign the sovereign power, but he always took good care never to consummate his abdication. Immediately after his threefold triumph over the Pannonians, Dalmatians, Cleopatra and Antony (B.C. 29), he introduced many needed and useful changes in the Senate and all branches of the government, and then proposed to lay down his power, but submitted to be placed at the head of affairs for ten years. He subsequently repeated this process several times. Vid. Mommsen's "History of Rome," vol. iii. pp. 323, 324; also, Class. Dict.

2. ut . . . perciperem: subj. of result; H. 497.—**ex verborum dulcedine**, i. e. since I cannot enjoy the pleasures of actual retirement, I derive enjoyment even from a talk about retirement.—**Tanta . . . otium**: Lips. quotes Pliny, writing to Trajan, *cum otium a te, tamquam res optima, et petatur et detur*.—**illam**, sc. *rem*, i. e. *otium*.—**non poterat**: supply *frui*.—**3. cum civibus**, viz. at the battle of Philippi, in the contest with Brutus and Cassius.—**cum collegis**: M. Lepidus and M. Antonius, his colleagues in the second triumvirate.—**cum adfinibus**: his final contest was with Antony, his own brother-in-law; vid. Class. Dict.—**ad externa bella convertit**: after he had become undisputed master of the Roman world, his foreign military operations were directed chiefly to maintain intact the boundaries of the empire, especially along the Danube, the Rhine, the Euphrates, and in Gaul and Asia Minor.

4. inmixtos . . . hostes: the passes over the Graian and Pennine Alps, between Gallia Cisalpina and Helvetia, were held by a tribe named Salassii. The possession of these passes was of great importance to the Romans, since they were, so to speak, in the midst of the empire. The Salassii held out against the Romans until Augustus sent Ter. Varro Murena to invest the

region with a large force. The Salassii were defeated and sold into slavery.—**ultra Rhenum**: Augustus appointed his step-son, Drusus Nero, to conduct operations on the Rhine.—**et Euphraten**: under the leadership of C. Caesar, son of Julia, Augustus's daughter.—**Murenæ, Caepionis**: Murena, the conqueror of the Salassii, and F. Caepio, conspired against Augustus, B.C. 22. They were arrested, tried, and executed.—**Lepidi**: M. Aemilius Lepidus, son of the triumvir and Junia, sister of Brutus, formed a conspiracy, B.C. 30, to assassinate Augustus on his return after the battle of Actium. Maecenas, having discovered the plot, seized Lepidus and sent him to Octavianus in the East, who put him to death.—**Egnatorum**: little is known of these here named. Appian mentions two Egnatii, who were slain in each other's arms, during the proscription of Antony and Augustus, after the reconciliation, B.C. 43.—**filia**: Julia, only daughter of Augustus, and wife of Tiberius, was of a very dissolute character. She was banished by her father to the island of Pandataria, on the coast of Campania, B.C. 2, and died, in the same year with Augustus, A.D. 14. She is said to have engaged in a conspiracy, with the partners of her guilt, against her father's life. While in exile she was an object of interest to the disaffected. Cf. Sueton. *Aug.* 19.—**adulterio . . . adaacti**: they were pledged and bound by their illicit relations, as soldiers are by an oath.—**iam infractam aetatem**: Augustus, at the time of Julia's banishment, was in his 61st year. He lived to the age of 76.—**plusque et iterum . . . mulier**: the woman here named was Julia, Augustus's daughter; the Antony spoken of was Julius Antonius, son of Mark Antony and Fulvia. He was put to death, B.C. 2. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 44.

5. **partes . . . rumpebantur**, v. l. *parte semper aliqua rumpebatur*, with Augustus understood as subject of verb.—**partim manifestos inimicos**, i. e. Catiline, the conspirator, and P. Clodius Pulcher, one of the most profligate and unprincipled men of his day. The latter became the deadly enemy of Cicero, because of his testimony against Clodius for violating the mysteries of *Bona Dea*, by entering Caesar's house, where they were celebrated, in company with the ladies of Rome, in the disguise of a female musician. Clodius, when tribune, obtained a decree of

banishment against Cicero, B.C. 58; and Fulvia, after Clodius's death, six years later, married Mark Antony, by whom Cicero was proscribed, and meanly allowed by Octavianus to be slain.—**inimicos**: how does *inimicus* differ from *hostis*?—**partim dubios amicos**: both Crassus and Pompey proved themselves to be such. Pompey promised solemnly to defend Cicero against Clodius and his bitter hatred; Crassus professed to be the friend of the great orator and patriot; but both, on flimsy pretexts, refused their aid when needed.—**fluctuatúr . . . tenet**: historic presents, usage quite frequent with *dum*; M. 336, obs. 2.—**dum illam . . . tenet**, while he was endeavoring to keep it (the state) from going to ruin. Lips. quotes Aufidius Bassus, a Roman writer of history, as saying of Cicero, "He was a man born to be the saviour of the state." For an able delineation of the life and services of the greatest of Roman orators, see Forsyth's "Life of Cicero."—**nec secundis rebus quietus**, etc.: in regard to these defects in Cicero's character, cf. the work just named. It is fairer than Middleton's Life. It is right here, too, to warn the student against Mommsen's treatment of Cicero, who, as Freeman says ("Historic Essays," 2d series, p. 268), is made, by the historian, "a mere mark for contemptuous jeers, for his name is never uttered without some epithet of scorn."—**adversarum**, governed by *patiens*.

6. Atticum: Q. Caecilius Pomponianus Atticus, a fellow-student and intimate friend of Cicero's, born B.C. 109. He was surnamed Atticus, probably from his long residence at Athens, where he became thoroughly versed in Greek literature. His critical taste was esteemed highly valuable, and Cicero and others used to send MSS. to him for examination and approval: the *De Senectute* was thus submitted to Atticus.—**quadam . . . epistula**: the quotation is not found in any of the Epistles to Atticus which have come down to us.—**filio**, i. e. Sextus Pompey.—**libertatis**, descriptive gen. in the predicate, supply *est*; so also, *sui juris*.

VI.—I. Livius Drusus: tribune of the plebs, B.C. 91, uncle of Cato Uticensis, and great-uncle of Brutus. He was an active, ambitious, and energetic man, and obtained the passage of several of the propositions of the Gracchi, such as the distribution of corn and division of public lands. As, however, he treated

the Senate rather rudely and contemptuously, and proposed to double its number from the knights, that body repealed all his laws. Disgusted with the state of affairs, he wished for a quiet life, but did not obtain it. Seneca gives the account of his death, followed by Appian, viz. that being afraid to appear out after dark, he received his partisans in a dark passage in his house, and that one evening, when dismissing the crowd present, he suddenly cried out that he was wounded, and fell to the ground with a leather-cutter's knife thrust in his groin. Vid. Class. Dict.—**leges novas**: see note above. He also proposed a law giving the *judicia* to the Senate constituted as above noted, and a law giving citizenship to the *foederatae civitates*.—**mala Gracchana**, i. e. the disturbances and evils resulting from the measures of the Gracchi.—**rerum**, i. e. the measures which he had proposed and attempted to carry out, and which he was neither permitted to accomplish, nor relinquish when begun.—**praetextatus**: the *toga praetexta* was laid aside usually at end of 14th year, when the *toga virilis* was assumed.—**constet**, *it is known*.—**rapta** = *extorta*, i. e. judgments were rendered as he wished.

2. **Quo . . . ambitio**? *to what end would such immature ambition not hasten?*—**erumperet**: potential subj.—**scires**, etc.: *you could readily perceive* (suppressed condition, *if you had the opportunity*): what is force of impf. subj. in conditional sentences?—**gravis**, *troublesome*.—**nullo**: supply *dubitante*; in full, it would read, *nullo dubitante an mors ejus tempestiva esset*, i. e. all believing that it was not untimely.—3. **ipsi**: cf. *De Prov.* 4, 3, N.—**perosi**, v. l. *proidentes*.—**adfectus . . . relabuntur**, i. e. they relapse into the old state.—**adfectus . . . consuetudinem**: by enallage for *adfectum solitum*, or *adfectum consuetudinarium*.—**nullum non** = *every*; *non nullum* = *some*; Z. 755; cf. 2, 1, N.—**hoc spatium**, i. e. the allotted period of life.—**quamvis . . . currit**: the indic. is used with *quamvis* in concessive sentences, frequently by post-Aug. writers, as Tacitus and Seneca. The subj. is found altogether in Cicero, and most of the earlier writers. With indic. it seems to lose its etymological force; H. 515; B. & M. 1286.—**effugiat, ut** omitted: *necesse est* is frequently followed by subj. instead of accus. with infin., especially in later writers.—4. **nec velocissimae**, etc., Fickert omits *nec*, which we give, with Haase.

5. **Licet** . . . **enumeres**, concessive subj.; B. & M. 1282; A. & G. 313 b. —**proiectorum**, (of men) *given up to, addicted*. —**Omnia istorum tempora excute**, *examine all the details of their lives*. —**quae . . . officia sunt**: perhaps the author alludes to official banquets and feasting; or it may be the idea is that, like official duties, banquets, etc., must be given and attended. Cf. 3, 2; *dic, quantum*, etc. for similar sentiment. —6. **sed omnia . . . respuit**: the idea is, that the preoccupied man refuses additional food for thought, just as a stomach already gorged rejects additional meat or drink. Cf. *De Vit. Beat.* 24, 1. —**hominis occupati**, predic. genitive.

VII.—1. **aliarum artium**, i. e. arts other than the art of living. —**pueri admodum**, *mere boys*; *admodum* used as an adjective. —**tota vita**: ablat. of time how long, in place of accus.; H. 378, 1; B. & M. 950; A. & G. 256 b. —**Tot maximi viri**, i. e. Democritus, Epicurus, etc. —**egerunt**, *have aimed at*. —**nedum ut isti sciant**: there is an ellipsis before *ut*, such as, *it is evident*, or *probable*, or the like; *isti*, antithetic to *tot maximi viri*, and refers to the common mass of men, in which the writer includes himself and the person addressed, i. e. *such as we are*.

2. **inde** = *ex eo*, i. e. *tempore*. —**Nihil inde . . . iacuit**, *none of that time was unemployed, or frittered away in idleness*. —**quod . . . permutaret**: *muto* and its compounds are usually followed by same construction as *verbs* of selling, but writers both of prose and poetry sometimes reverse the expression, and put that which we receive in the accus. and that which we give for it in ablat., either with or without preposition *cum*; Z. 456, note. —**permutaret**: subj. after *dignum*; H. 503, II. 2. —**Itaque satis illi fuit**, i. e. the time allotted to his life was long enough. —3. **Nec est quod**: cf. *De Tranq.* 1, 1, N. —**omnes illi**, etc.: for a like sentiment, cf. Pliny, *Epist.* i. 9. —**abducunt**, sc. *te*. —**ad inritandum . . . captantium**: to stir up the avarice of legacy-hunters; for *ad* with accus. gerundive expressing purpose, vid. H. 544, notes; B. & M. 1338. —**sed in adparatu habet**, i. e. he only values you as you minister to his love of pomp, by paying court to him and attending upon him.

4. **Dispunge**: post-Aug., *compute*. —**reiculos** = *rejeiculos*: v. 1.

ridiculos.—**fascēs**, *office*, especially a high office. The consuls and praetors were preceded by lictors with the *fascēs*.—**Facit ille ludos**: it was the duty of the *praetor urbanus* (*De Tranq.* 3, 4, N.) to conduct the *ludi Apollinares*. Vid. Dict. Antiq.—**sortem**: the two praetors determined by lot which functions they should respectively exercise.—**Diripitur**, i. e. *gratia ac favore*: the idea is that, so great is the number of his clients, there is a strife to secure his services, and he is dragged this way and that. Cf. *De Ira*, iii. 23.—**toto foro**: ablat. of place without a preposition; H. 425, II. 2.—**Quando . . . res proferentur**? the courts were adjourned during the *dies nefasti*. Vid. Dict. Antiq.

5. qui omnes . . . ordinat, i. e. who disposes of every day, as if it were his last; who cherishes the sentiment in *Epist.* 15, 12, "Behold, this day is my last; if not, my last is very near."—**fors fortuna**: the goddess of chance or good-luck, and in fact of all prosperity, worshipped with great devotion by both Greeks and Romans. Vid. Class. Dict.—**huic**, sc. *vitae*.—**adici**, for *adjici*: cf. *De Prov.* 2, 8, N.—**huic adici . . . nihil**, i. e. the life of such a man may be broadened and prolonged, but nothing can shorten it; for by the useful employment of all time, it would be a complete life, no matter when it is brought to a close.

VIII.—1. Non est itaque quod . . . putes: cf. 7, 3, N.—[**non ille . . . sed**]: Fickert, in a note, says that he dares not omit these words, although they are not in the Milan codex.—**quid enim**: supply *censes* or *ais*.—**eos qui rogantur**, i. e. those of whom the time is requested.—**2. ipsum**, sc. *tempus*.—**neuter**: subject of *spectat* understood.—**Annua congiaria**: *congiarium* means literally a vessel holding a *congius*, the usual measure of oil or wine distributed among the people. It was afterwards (*Quintil.* vi. 3, 52) applied to liberal donations of corn, wine, money, etc., to the people. Moreover, it was used to denote a present or pension (as in this instance) given by a person of high rank to his friends, in return for which their services were rendered when required. Cf. Cic. *ad Famil.* viii. 1; Sueton. *Vespas.* 18; *Nero*, 10.—**carissime**, v. l. *clarissime*.—**his**, sc. *congiariis*.

3. eosdem aegros vide: cf. Epictetus (Stobaeus, *Florileg.* cxxi. 30).—**paratos**, agrees with *illos*, understood. Supply *vide*.—

inpendere, to *expend*: governed by *paratos*; H. 533, II.; B. & M. 1122.—**Quodsi posset . . . trepidarent . . . parcerent**: cf. 1, 3. N.—**4. res**, i. e. *tempus*.—**sine illorum incremento**, i. e. they give of their precious time without being able to add to that of their friends to whom they give.

5. nihil admonebit, supply *te*: subject of verb is *aetas* understood; for government of *velocitatis*, vid. H. 409, I.; B. & M. 793; A. & G. 219.—**sicut missa est . . . curret**: the figure is taken from the races in the Circensian games. It is that of a chariotteer upon the course, sent forth (*missus*) by the presiding officer of the Circus Maximus. Vid. Dict. Antiq.—**cui . . . vacandum**, for which (death) you must have time, i. e. to which you must attend.—**velis nolis**, for *sive velis, sive nolis*, whether you wish it or not; M. 422, obs. b.

IX.—1. Potestne: there is an ellipsis of some verb after this expression; we may supply *morti vacare* after *quisquam*.—**dico**, I mean.—**operosius**: the comparative sometimes serves to denote a considerable or high degree; M. 308. Render, *operosius . . . quam ut, too laboriously . . . to*; or the whole passage, *too laboriously engaged to be able to live better lives*.—**possint**: subj. is used after comparative, followed by *quam qui*, or *quam ut*, in sentences denoting result; Z. 560; M. 440 a; 308, obs. 1.—**Inpendio vitae**, at the expense of life, i. e. the loss of a true life; *inpendio*, ablat. of price.—**exspectatio, quae pendet ex crastino**: cf. *Epist.* 1, 2, "Embrace every hour; the stronger hold you have on to-day, the less will be your dependence on to-morrow. Life, however unimproved, still glides away."—**in tua**, sc. *manu*.—**omnia quae ventura sunt**, etc., all that is to come is uncertain.—**protinus = statim, iamnunc**.

2. ore: Muretus would read, *furore*.—**Optima quaeque**, etc.: Virg. *Georg.* iii. 66, probably the source of the common saying, "Our first days are our best days;" cf. *Epist.* 108, 25.—**Nisi occupas, fugit**, sc. *dies* or *tempus*:

"The cunning fugitive is swift by stealth,
Too subtle is the moment to be seen,
Yet soon man's hour is up, and we are gone."—YOUNG.

—**Hoc**: supply *tendit*; *hoc* refers to the quotation from Virgil.

—**infinitam cogitationem**, i. e. endless thought and planning for the future, based on the false assumption that man's future is long on earth.—**dicit**, i. e. the poet Virgil.—**3. loquitur**, i. e. the poet.—**pueriles adhuc animos**: cf. *Epist.* 22, 14, "Every one departs from life as if he had just entered upon it," a quotation from Epicurus.

4. Nihil enim provisum, i. e. no provision has been made for old age.—**accedere eam cotidie non sentiebant**: cf. *Epist.* 1, 2, "Where will you find one who sets value upon time? who understands that he dies daily? For herein are we deceived: we look forward at death, whereas death in a great measure is already passed. All the lapsed years of life are in the grasp of death."—**facientis** = *facientes*, sc. *eos*.—**pervenisse**, sc. *finem itineris*; depends upon *sciunt*.

X.—1. Fabianus: C. Papirius Fabianus, a Roman rhetorician and philosopher in the time of Tiberius and Caligula. He wrote largely, especially on philosophy, and Seneca, in *Epist.* 100, sets a high value on his works, placing them next to those of Cicero, Asinius Pollio, and Livy. Cf. *De Tranq.* 1, 6, N.—**cathedrariis**, i. e. *pedantic, talkative*.—**antiquis**: not *ancient*, in our sense of the word (for he lived in Seneca's time, and seems to have been on terms of intimacy with him), but *one of the old stamp*, characterized by the purity and simplicity of the olden time.

2. quod fuit, quod est, quod futurum est, *the past, the present, and the future*. What is antecedent of *quod*?—**quod agimus**, for *quod est*; so *quod acturi sumus* for *quod futuri sumus*, etc.—**Hoc**, i. e. *quod egimus certum*.—**ius perdidit**: cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 7, *ne deum quidem posse omnia . . . nullumque habere in praeterita ius, praeterquam oblivionis*; cf. also, Hor. *Od.* iii. 29, 45–48.—**poenitendae rei recordatio**, *the recalling of a thing to be repented of*.—**retemptare** = *retentare*.—**sub censura sua**, i. e. under the censorship of his own conscience, or right reason.

3. necesse est . . . timeat: cf. 6, 3, N.—**dedicata**: given over, and, as it were, consecrated to memory; i. e. it is beyond recall, and in the grasp only of memory.—**4. Haec . . . nec eripi potest**: Lips. quotes Martial, *et solum hoc ducas, quod fuit, esse tuum*; cf. *De Vit. Beat.* 6, 1; *De Benef.* iii. 4, 1.—**velut sub iugo sint**:

comparison from figure of an ox under the yoke, which prevents his bending his neck and looking back.

5. Abit, v. l. *abiit*.—**in profundum**, *into obscurity*.—**licet quantumlibet ingeras**, *although you accumulate as much as you please*: concessive subj.; cf. 6, 5, N.—**si non subest**, sc. *tibi*.—**quassos**: Lips. prefers *cassos*.—**6. nullum**, sc. *tempus*.—**in cursu**, *in motion, on the wing*; as Heraclitus says, πάντα ῥεῖ.—**mundus** = *coelum*.

XI.—1. minores natu, *younger*, i. e. than they really are.—**quam si una fata decipiant**: cf. Martial (*Epig.* iii. 43),

"Non omnes fallis; scit te Proserpina canum;
Personam capiti detrahet illa tuo."

—**non tamquam . . . extrahantur**? (as Lodge quaintly renders it), *not as if they did depart, but as if, will they, nill they, they were pulled out by the eares*.—**ut non vixerint**: subj. of result.

2. quam frustra paraverint . . . ceciderit: indirect questions; **fruerentur**: subj. after the relative, with an indef. antecedent.—**At quibus . . . agitur**: cf. Hor. *Epod.* 2.—**delegatur**, *is made over, or assigned*, i. e. to another.—**inde** = *ex illa*, sc. *vita*.—**nihil . . . fortunae traditur**: for the wise man trusts to wise counsels, and judgment rather than chance.—**ut ita dicam**, *so to speak*: subj. of purpose.—**in reditu est**, *makes returns*: figure taken from money at interest.

3. basilica, i. e. hall of justice, court.—**quos . . . canes eiciunt**: dogs, belonging to janitors, etc., watched public buildings, as well as private; they were generally loosed at night. The sense is that some were so zealous and engrossed with their business at court that they were the last to leave the hall, and the dogs being let loose were at their heels. Lips. refers to *De Ira*, iii. 37, 2.—**sua turba**, i. e. their clients.—**aliena**, sc. *turba*.—**hasta praetoris** = *auction*: a spear was erected at auctions, both to announce, by a conventional sign conspicuous at a distance, that a sale was going on, and to show that it was conducted under the authority of the magistrate; hence *hasta praetoris*. The use of a *hasta* for this purpose is said to have been derived from selling under a spear booty taken in war. Cf. Cic. *De Offic.* ii. 8.—**infami**, *infamous*, as the price of confiscated goods, which were sold at these auctions.—**lucro**: ablat. of price.—**suppuraturo**, i. e. gains

of this nature will become noxious, like a gathering ulcer. A revolution would render all confiscations null, and hence all sales would be abrogated, and restitution would be enforced.

XII.—1. Corinthia, sc. *vasa*: there was a celebrated alloy of gold, silver, and copper (said to have been accidentally discovered at the burning of Corinth by Mummius, B.C. 146), which was very highly prized by the ancients. It was much used in fashioning various vessels, coins, etc. Cf. *De Tranq.* 9, 6, N.—**anxia subtilitate**, i. e. to distinguish whether they were genuine or spurious.—**ceromate**: ointment made of oil and wax, with which the wrestlers were anointed; they were then covered with dust or soft sand.—**vitiis**: dat. after *laboramus*.—**sectator puorum rixantium**, i. e. *the idlers*.—**aetatum et colorum**: governed by *paria*, which sometimes in later writers takes gen. to denote a certain reference (*with respect to*) to a thing which is otherwise expressed by the ablat.; M. 290, obs. 1, g.—**vinctorum suorum greges**, i. e. bands of his slaves chained together. He characterizes the wealthy slaveholders as *occupati*, who employ their time in thus dividing off their slaves.—**athletas**: contestants for prizes (*ἄθλα*) in the public games of the Greeks and Romans. Under the empire athletic exercises became a profession, and only those trained for the purpose contended in the public games. They went through a course of exercise and diet, and some of them are said to have consumed enormous quantities of animal food. Cf. Dict. Antiq.—**novissimos**, v. l. *notissimos*.—**quibus**: dative of agent.—**dum de singulis . . . itur**, *while he deliberates over each hair*, viz. to determine whether it should be trimmed or not.—**deficiens**, etc., sc. *coma*, i. e. beginning to be bald above the forehead.

2. iuba: elaborately arranged ringlets and locks, perhaps; cf. *Epist.* 124, 22, "Why do you dress your hair with so great diligence and art?" etc.—**3. canticis** = *chansons*; cf. Martial, *Epig.* iii. 63, 5.—**carmen**: object of *metientes*.—**sonant**: Lips. prefers *sunt*.—**tristes**, sc. *res*.

4. posuerim: potential subj.—**argentum**: the table-service and plate displayed upon sideboards. Besides the necessary plate used at meals, wealthy Romans placed costly gold and

silver utensils on their tables, called *abaci* and *Delphici*. Cf. Cic. *in Verr.* iv. 16; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvii. 2, 6; also, Becker's "Gallus," p. 125.—**ordinent . . . succingant . . . suspensi sint**: indirect questions.—**exoletorum**: cf. *De Prov.* 3, 11, N.—**tunicas succingant**: cf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 70, *præcincti recte pueri comptique ministrent*.—**quomodo aper a coco exeat**: the wild boar was the chief dish of a grand *coena*; cf. *De Tranq.* 6, 2, N. There were those who pretended that they could distinguish by the taste from what part of Italy the boar came; cf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 40.—**coco** = *coquo*.—**signo dato**: by the master, with a nod of the head usually; cf. *Epist.* 95, 24, where Seneca, speaking of the display of servants and extravagance of an entertainment, exclaims, *di boni, quantum hominum unus venter exercet!*—**quanta . . . scindantur**: cf. *De Vit. Beat.* 17, 2, N.—**aves**: consisting usually of peacocks, pheasants, doves, ducks, etc.; vid. Becker's "Gallus," p. 133.—**quam . . . detergeant**: depends on *videam*, above.—**Ex his, in consequence of these things**.

5. numeraveris: potential subj. The second person is used of an assumed person representing a single indefinite subject (some one, one), which is imagined and, so to speak, addressed, in order to express something indefinite; M. 370.—**illas, sc. gestationes**.—**alius**, i. e. a slave, whose duty it is to remind them when the regular hour for these various occupations has arrived.

6. Iam sedeo? Plutarch says of Nicias, the famous Athenian painter, that while engaged upon his masterpiece, viz. the infernal regions as described by Homer, he became so absorbed in the work as to have to ask his servants, at times, whether he had bathed or dined. Similar absorption in work is recorded of Archimedes, Newton, etc.—**dixerim**, potential subj.: a thing which easily can or will happen when there is occasion for it is modestly and cautiously expressed in the subj., most frequently in the first person, to denote that to which one is inclined; M. 350 b.—**7. hominis**: gen. after *esse* understood; H. 403, 2. What is the subject of *videtur*?—**mimos**: cf. *De Ira*, ii. 4.—**Esse aliquem**: depends on some verb understood; Lips. gives *putas*.

XIII.—1. inponas, sc. huic: cf. 12, 5, N. *numeraveris*.—**cui**: dat. of possession after *est*.—**latrunculi, draughts, chessmen**, by

metonymy for *chess*. The game is very ancient, and Homer notes that Penelope's suitors played at it (*Odys.* i. 107). Two sets of men were used—black and white or red. As they were intended to represent two armies in conflict, they were called variously *soldiers* (Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 477), *foes* (*hostes*), *marauders* (*latrones*); dimin. *latrunculi*. Cf. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* ii. 208; iii. 357; *De Tranq.* 14, 4; Dict. Antiq.—**pila**: the game at ball was very ancient and a great favorite with both Greeks and Romans. It was played by all ages and ranks; and the Athenians on one occasion conferred upon Aristonicus of Carystus the right of citizenship, and erected a statue to his honor, on account of his skill in this game. Cf. Athenaeus, i. p. 19 a; Dict. Antiq.—**excoquendi in sole corporis cura**: cf. *De Tranq.* 3, 1.

2. quae = *of whom*: refers to the subject of *agant*. The relat. sometimes agrees with the predic. noun instead of the antecedent; H. 445, 4; B. & M. 695.—**quem numerum . . . habuisset**: a reference to the vessels and men that king Alcinous furnished to convey Ulysses to Ithaca.—**prior . . . Ilias an Odyssea**: the ancient opinion was, as expressed by Longinus, that Homer composed the "Iliad" in the vigor of his years, and the "Odyssey" in old age. This is also the general sentiment in modern times. For a discussion of the "Homeric Question," in its several phases, the student may consult Wolff's *Prolegomena*, Paley's Preface and Notes to the "Iliad," Müller's "History of Greek Literature," etc.—**praeterea an eiusdem . . . auctoris**: there were, even in ancient times, critics who held that the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" were not written by the same poet. They were called *χωρίζοντες*, or *separatists*, concerning whom and their views, cf. Grauert ("Rhein. Mus." vol. i.); Thirlwall's "Hist. of Greece," i. 500–516; Edinburgh Review, for April, 1871; and Class. Dict. Lips. refers to a fantastical story of one Phantasia, an Egyptian, daughter of Nicarchus of Memphis. She is said to have written an account of the Trojan war and the wanderings of Ulysses, and deposited it in the temple of Vulcan at Memphis. Homer, the story goes on to say, procured a copy from one of the sacred scribes, and thus stole the materials for immortality.—**alia deinceps huius notae**, and so on, other questions of this kind; *alia*, object of *quaerere*, understood.—**quae sive contineas**, sc. *in tua mente*.—

non doctior videaris: Lips. quotes Aristippus—as not those who consume the most, but those who use the necessary articles of food are the stronger, so those who have read useful, not the most books, must be considered learned.

3. Romanos: Suetonius (70) names Tiberius among these.—**Duillius**: C. Duillius, consul, B.C. 260. He gained the first Roman naval victory over the Carthaginians, off the coast. A column was erected in the forum in memory of this, and it was adorned with the beaks of the conquered ships. Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxiv. 5.—**Curius Dentatus**: cf. *De Tranq.* 3, 16, N.—**4. Claudius**: Appius Claudius, surnamed Caudex, from his connection with naval affairs, was consul B.C. 264. He commanded the forces sent to aid the Mamertini, and, after landing in Sicily at night, defeated Hiero and the Carthaginians. Vid. Class. Dict.—**quia plurium tabularum**, etc.: Lips. quotes Varro (*ap. Nonium*), *quod antiqui plures tabulis conjunctas, codices dicebant: a quo in Tiberi naves codicarias appellamus*.

5. Sane et hoc . . . quod, this certainly may also be pertinent to the matter in hand, that, etc.—**Valerius Corvinus**: consul, B.C. 263, second year of first Punic war. His operations were chiefly directed against the Carthaginians in Sicily. He relieved Messana from blockade, and received in consequence the cognomen *Messala*.—**primus L. Sulla**, etc.: Sulla, when praetor, B.C. 93, gratified the Romans with an exhibition of one hundred African lions, which were slain by archers sent for the purpose by Bocchus, king of Mauretania. It was this king who betrayed Jugurtha to Sulla.—**cum alioquin adligati darentur**, while in general they were presented bound, i. e. to the archers.—**darentur**: *cum* usually has the subj. when it expresses a kind of comparison, and especially a contrast, between the contents of the leading proposition and the subordinate; M. 358, obs. 3.

6. Pompeium, etc. During his second consulship Pompey opened the theatre in the Campus Martius (capable of holding forty thousand spectators) with games of unparalleled magnificence. Five hundred African lions were slain, and eighteen elephants were attacked. Some of these were killed, Pliny says (*Nat. Hist.* viii. 20), by Gaetulian huntsmen; but Seneca represents the contest as between the elephants and criminals (*noxii hominibus*)

who had been exposed to them.—**bonitatis eximiae**, sc. *princeps*. Concerning Pompey, see the full and carefully prepared article *Pompeius*, in Dr. Smith's "Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog.;" also, Mommsen's severe and hard judgment, "Hist. of Rome," vol. iv. pp. 508, 509.—**exterantur**, *let them be crushed*.—**Satius erat ista**, etc., *it were better that such things as these be forgotten, lest*, etc.; *satius erat*, the apodosis, the protasis omitted. The impf. indic. is often used when it is declared, without a condition, what might or ought to happen, but does not happen. The impf. of *sum* is then accompanied by such neuters as *satius, melius*, etc.; M. 348 c, obs.; B. & M. 1275.—**minime humanae** = *inhuman*.

XIV.—1. Ille, i. e. Pompey the Great.—**obiceret**: on spelling of compounds of *iaceo*, cf. *De Prov.* 2, 9, N.—**plus**, sc. *sanguinis*: object of *fundere*. Soon after the games above mentioned (13, 6, N.) Pompey became sole consul, with dictatorial powers (B.C. 52); then followed the events which led to the inevitable and bloody struggle with Caesar, and its results.—**idem**, *also*; H. 451, 3.—**Alexandrina perfidia deceptus**: Pompey had been a friend to Ptolemy, brother of Cleopatra; but nevertheless he was slain through the treachery of the young king's advisers, Pothinus, Theodotus, and Achillas.—**ultimo**, *at last*; adv.—**mancipio**: dat. of agent; H. 388; B. & M. 1310. Pompey was stabbed first by L. Septimius, who had served under him as a centurion during Pompey's brilliant campaign against the pirates in the Mediterranean. He was aided in this murder by Achillas, to whom Bouillet applies the term *mancipio*.—**cognominis sui**, i. e. Magnus, or the Great.

2. Sed ut . . . revertar, *but to return*; subj. of purpose.—**idem**, *he likewise*, i. e. *quemdam*, 13, 3.—**Metellum**: consul, B.C. 251. He was the first of his family who rose to eminence. He defeated Hasdrubal in Sicily during the first Punic war, and established the supremacy of Rome in that island. All the elephants of the enemy fell into his hands, and he was the first who exhibited these animals in a triumph.—**victis Poenis**: ablat. absol.—**Sullam ultimum**, etc. This statement is regarded as doubtful. The *poemerium* was extended as the city increased in size, but it was done, according to ancient usage, by such men

as had by their victories over foreign nations enlarged the boundaries of the empire (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 23). After Sulla, it is claimed that Julius Caesar, Augustus, Claudius, and Aurelian extended the *poemerium* (Cic. *ad Attic.* xiii. 20). Aurelian was the last.—**agro adquisito**: ablat. absol.

3. ille, i. e. *quemdam*, 13, 3.—**quod plebs eo secessisset**: the plebs revolted and withdrew to the Aventine hill, B.C. 450, and also on other occasions. The Aventine was not included in the *poemerium* until the time of Claudius.—**ut concedas . . . scribant**, *although you grant*; concessive subj.; B. & M. 1283.—**ut ad praestationem scribant**, *although they pledge themselves for the truth of what they write*.—**4. Fabianus**: cf. 10, 1, N.—**omnium**: partit. gen. after *soli*.—**nec . . . tantum**: the rising to something more important is introduced rarely by *non tantum*, except when the subject or predicate is common to both clauses; *non solum* and *non modo* are more frequent; M. 461, obs.—**vitam**: Lips. suggests *viam*.

5. nullo . . . interdictum est, *no age is prohibited us*; *seculo*, ablat. of separation. The verb *interdicere*, with its own case, is more frequently followed also by ablat. of separation than by accus.; Z. 469. Cf. Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* i. 46; Quintil. vi. 3, 79.—**Disputare cum Socrate licet**, sc. *nobis*, *we may dispute with Socrates*.—**Carneade**: Carneades, a famous philosopher, founder of the New Academy, born in Cyrene, Africa, B.C. 213. He was a pupil of Diogenes at Athens for a time, then adopted the scepticism of the Academics, and strongly opposed the Stoics on the question of the criterion of the truth of our knowledge. Cf. Zeller's "Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics," p. 508-535; also, Lewes's "Hist. of Ancient Philosophy."—**Epicuro quiescere**: the great aim of Epicurus was to free men from all apprehensions, pains, etc., and to live in tranquil security; cf. Zeller, as above, p. 382, etc.—**Stoicis**: their aim was to subdue every passion and to live according to nature, as they phrased it; cf. Zeller, Lewes, Class. Dict., etc.—**Cynicis**: cf. *De Tranq.* 8, 3, N. *Diogenes*.—**cum . . . patiatur**: causal.

6. Quidni . . . demus: subj. of deliberation is used in questions as to what may, is to be, or should be done, generally with a negative force, implying that it has not been or will not be

done; H. 484, v.; M. 353.—**per officia**, for the sake of paying court.—**meritoriam**, that expects a reward=mercenary.—**illos**, i. e. *isti*, above.—**7. cum diu torserint**, i. e. by keeping them waiting.—**simulata . . . transcurrant**, i. e. they pass them by with a brief notice, through pretence of being hurried.—**clientibus**: after *refertum*; H. 421, II.—**quasi . . . sit**: H. 509, 513, II.—**in-susurratum**, sc. *nomenclatoribus*.

8. licet dicamus: Z. 624.—**Zenonem**: cf. *De Tranq.* 1, 7, N.—**Pythagoram**: native of Samos, the celebrated Greek philosopher, flourished B.C. 540–510; vid. *Class. Dict.*—**Democritum**: cf. *De Tranq.* 2, 3, N.—**Aristotelem**: the pupil of Plato, founder of the Peripatetic school, and second only to his master in the influence he has exercised and still continues to exercise on philosophy; cf. Zeller's "Socrates and the Socratic Schools;" Ueberweg's "Hist. of Philosophy," vol. i. p. 137, etc.—**Theophrastum**: a Greek philosopher, born in Eresus, Lesbos, about B.C. 375, died B.C. 287. He became a favorite pupil of Aristotle, who, on his leaving Athens for Chalcis, designated Theophrastus for the presidency of the Lyceum, and in his will left him his library and the originals of his writings. Vid. *Class. Dict.*

9. Horum te . . . coget: perhaps Seneca was even now anticipating his own compulsory death at the hands of Nero; cf. *INTRODUCTION* to the present vol., p. 18.—**conterit, contribuit**, v. l. *conteret, contribuet*; *conterit* = *perdit*.—**nullius amicitia capitalis**: a reference to the condition of things under the emperors of Seneca's day, when strong private friendships were looked upon with suspicion, and regarded as almost treasonable.—**nullius sumptuosa observatio**: perhaps a reference to the practice of giving costly presents to the emperor, to appease his wrath or court his favor, through fear of his avarice; cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. 184, etc.

XV.—1. per illos non stabit, it will not be owing to them; cf. Arnold's *Lat. Prose Comp.* p. 203.—**quo minus . . . haurias**, that you do not take in the utmost that you shall have capacity to receive; *quo minus* = *ut non*; H. 497, 2.—**plurimum quantum**: to express the highest degree possible, *quantum* is often used instead of *quam* with the superlat.; M. 309, obs. 3; Z. 689.—**deliberet**

. . . **consulat** . . . **audiat** . . . **laudetur** . . . **effingat**: for subj., cf. Z. 558.—**laudetur**, sc. *aquibus*.—**Solemus dicere**: for similar thought, cf. *Consol. ad Marc.* 18, 6.—**sortiremur**: an indirect question; H. 529.—**forte nobis datos**: Lips. objects to these words as superfluous, since the idea of *forte* is implied in *sortiremur*.—**nobis** . . . **nasci licet**, i. e. the mind at least can choose its intellectual, moral, and spiritual parents.

2. familiae: Lips. quotes from Cicero (*De Or.* iii. 16), *a Socrate proseminatae sunt quasi familiae, dissentientes inter se et multum disiunctae*; also (*De Divin.* ii. 1, 3), *Peripateticorum familia*.—**maligne** = *invidiose et parce*.—**diviseris** = *distribueris*.—**deicitur** = *dejicitur*, v. l. *ejiciet*.—**haec una ratio est**, etc., *this is the only way*, etc.—**decretis ambitio iussit**: whatever the ambition of another has imposed upon us; Lips.—**vetustas** = *tempus*.—**3. iis**: governed by *noceri*.—**sequens** . . . **ulterior**: the near and the far-off future.—**in vicino**, *near at hand*. Lips. quotes from Velleius Paterculus (ii. 92), *praesentia invidia, praeterita veneratione prosequimur; et his nos obrui, illis instrui credimus*.—**idem** . . . **qui**, *the same* . . . *as*.—**legibus**: ablat. of separation.—**4. Transit**, v. l. *transiit*.—**hoc praecipit**, i. e. *praesumit, anticipat*.—**dum** . . . **agunt**: M. 369, obs. 3.

XVI. — 1. Nec est, quod . . . **putes**: cf. *De Tranq.* 2, 2, n.—**hoc argumento** = *quia interdum*, etc.—**dum veniat**: H. 519.—**conductum** = *statutum*.—**id** = *otium*.—**2. muneris gladiatorii**: the gladiatorial show is said to have had its origin from the custom among the Etruscans of killing slaves and captives at the funeral pyres of the deceased. Gladiators were first exhibited at Rome, B.C. 264, by M. and D. Brutus, at the funeral of their father (Livy, *Epit.* 16). Vid. Dict. Antiq.—**constitutum**, sc. *tempus*.—**medios dies**: shows were held in the afternoon.—**ad illud tempus**, *compared with that time*.—**suo vitio**, *through their own fault*.

3. Quid aliud . . . **quam auctores illis inscribere**; M. 444 b, obs. 1.—**morbo** = *vitio, affectui*.—**exemplo divinitatis excusata**: cf. *De Vit. Beat.* 26.—**4. lucis metu**, i. e. through fear that the light will soon dawn upon them.—**exsultantis** = *exsultantes*; on use of *is* for *es* in acc. plur., cf. Z. 68, note; *exsultantis*, sc. *eos*.—**5. Cum** . . . **porrigeret** = *comprehenderet*.—**mensuram**: Herod-

otus (vii. 184–187) gives the story in full as to the mode adopted for numbering the vast army and followers of the Persian king. The total of over five millions in all is generally discredited in modern times. Cf. Grote, “Hist. of Greece,” vol. iv. p. 380–385; Rawlinson’s “Herodotus,” vol. iv. pp. 128, 129.—**Persarum rex**, i. e. **Xerxes**.

XVII.—1. Quid, quod: elliptical expression, *what shall we say to this, that, or, how is it, that*; M. 479 d, obs. 1.—**Maxima quaeque**: cf. *De Prov.* 2, 2, N.—**nec ulli fortunae . . . creditur**: cf. Livy, xxx. 30, *Maximae cuique fortunae minimae credendum est*—“The highest fortune is always least to be trusted;” *fortunae*, dat. after *creditur*. Various intransitive verbs that take dat. in active retain that case in passive; such verbs must then be used impersonally; M. 244 b.

2. opportunius, *more inclined or liable*.—**casura**, *things that will soon fall away, perish*; in this instance, high states of felicity.—**maiore**, sc. *labore*.—**Nulla . . . ratio est**, *meanwhile there is no care of time, that will never more return*.—**3. materia**, sc. *miseriarum*.—**plus . . . auferunt**, i. e. in enhancing the honors of others; *alieni*, sc. *honores*.—**desimus** = *desivimus*.—**Accusandi** = *actitandi*; Lips.—**Marium caliga dimisit**? Marius received leave of absence from the war against Jugurtha, and, repairing to Rome, was chosen consul, B.C. 107.—**caliga** = military life, or service in an inferior grade.

4. Quintius, i. e. Cincinnatus, who was made dictator a second time at the age of 80; cf. Cic. *De Senect.* 16; Livy, ix. 13–15.—**praevadere**, v. l. *pervadere*.—**Scipio**: P. Corn. Scipio Africanus Major, was appointed to the command of the army in Spain, operating against the Carthaginians, B.C. 210. At the age of 24 he conquered Hannibal at Zama, and took Carthage, B.C. 202. In order to secure the province of Greece to his brother, he promised to act as his lieutenant (*legatus*) in the war against Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, and thus he became, as it were, sponsor for the success of his brother’s consulship. He conquered Antiochus in a decisive battle at Mount Sipylus, in Asia Minor. Through envious spite and jealousy he was charged with being bribed so as to allow Antiochus too easy terms; hence,

in disgust at the ingratitude of the Romans, he left the city and retired to his country-seat at Linternum. Here he spent the remainder of his days in the cultivation of his estate. Cf. *Epist.* 86, 1–5; Livy, xxxviii, 50–60.—**fraterni**, sc. *consulatus*.—**repone-tur**, v. l. *reponeretur*.

XVIII.—1. non pro aetatis spatio iactatus, i. e. tossed about in public affairs out of proportion to the length of his life. It would seem from what follows (*maior pars*, etc.) that he had entered upon his office while still youthful.—**publicas in te converteris**. It is not known to what disturbances the author refers. He seems to praise the fidelity and patriotism of Paulinus in taking upon himself the *odium* of some troubles for the sake of the public good.—**faciat**, sc. *virtus*.

2. Tu . . . administras: an exaggerated statement. He was not minister of the finances, but simply *praefectus annonae*, a permanent office under the emperors, who had jurisdiction over all matters pertaining to the corn-market, and, like the *praefectus vigilum*, was chosen from the *equites*.—**odium vitare difficile est**: because it is difficult to satisfy so many thousands of people.

3. ministerio honorifico: under the republic men of consular rank superintended the distribution of corn. Pompey was charged with this duty for five years, and Augustus took upon himself the office until he appointed the *praefectus annonae* as a permanency. Lips. quotes from Boethius, *si quis quondam populi curasset annonam, magnus habebatur; nunc ea Praefectura quid abjectius?*—**cogita non id egisse te**, reflect that you did not make this the object of your action.—**id**, viz. *ut committerentur*.—**milia**, sc. *modiorum*.—**Non deerunt**, etc., i. e. men suitable will not be wanting to fill the place you vacate.—**obicere** = *objicere*: on spelling of compounds of *iaceo* or *iacio*, cf. *De Prov.* 2, 8, N.—**cum ventre . . . negotium est**, you have to do with the human appetite; cf. Homer, *Odys.* xvii. 286.

4. C. Caesar, i. e. Caligula.—**hoc**, viz. *quod decebat populo Romano superstite*.—**superesse**: this is the reading of the mss., but Lips. is probably correct in the suggestion that it should read *supererant*, or *superfuere*.—**dum . . . ludit**: that he might be able to boast of having marched over the sea as on dry land, he con-

structed across the channel between Baiae and Puteoli (a distance of three Roman miles and six hundred paces) a bridge with boats that ought to have been used in conveying corn for the famishing people. He squandered all that Tiberius left in the treasury (720,000,000 sesterces), and spent continually more than the revenues of the state.—**imperi**: gen. for *imperii*; Z. 49, note 1.

5. Exitio . . . fame . . . ruina: ablat. of price; H. 422; B. & M. 884; Z. 444.—**superbi regis**, i. e. Xerxes.—**saxa, ferrum, ignes, Caium excepturi**: the idea is that they would meet these things if they did not conceal the knowledge of the scarcity of provisions. Observe the climax, *Caium* being placed last, as if the sight of Caligula were the worst penalty. Cf. *De Ira*, iii. 19, 1, where Seneca, in enumerating this tyrant's cruelties, says that he tortured with rope, rack, fire, and his own countenance.—**inter viscera**, sc. *urbis*.—**tegebant**: object, *tantum . . . mali*.

XIX.—1. esse: its subject-accus. is what?—**cures . . . accedas**: indirect questions.—**horrea**: granaries were built in various parts of the city, in which the public stores were placed.—**an ad haec**, etc.: these were some of the questions much discussed among the Stoics; cf. Zeller, Ueberweg, Lewes, before referred to, 14, 5, N.; also, *Epist.* 113, where Seneca has a curious and rather amusing discussion of certain Stoic questions.—**sciturus**: expresses purpose.—**ubi nos . . . natura componat**: cf. *Epist.* 64, where Seneca, writing of the death of his friend Sere-nus, says, "And perchance (if the opinion of wise men be true, and any place receive us) he, who we suppose has perished, has only been sent before."—**gravissima quaeque**: cf. *De Prov.* 2, 2, N.—**supra**: adverb.—**summum ignem**, i. e. *aetherem*.—**vici-bus**, v. l. *cursibus*.—**cetera**: object of *sciturus*.

2. solo = terra.—**vigentibus**, sc. *nobis*: dat. after gerundive; neuter of gerundive of intransitive verbs is used with *esse*, to signify that the action must be done. The subject which has to do something is then put in the dative, as with ordinary gerundive; M. 421.—**in hoc genere vitae**, i. e. in a life devoted to the investigation of such questions as the above.—**hoc = tali**.—**bonarum artium = philosophiae**.—**alta rerum quies**, a profound rest from worldly affairs.—**amare et odisse**, sc. *ad alienum amorem*,

et alienum odium.—**res**: in apposition with the several words, *somnum*, etc.; cf. Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 85, 3.

3. Cum videris . . . sumptam, i. e. when you shall see the magistracy assumed a second or third time, or even more.—**ut unus . . . annus**: in other words, to attain the consulship. Under the republic the year received its name from the consuls, and in all public documents their names marked the year. Under the empire, when there were many consuls during the year, at the will or caprice of the emperor, the year was designated from those only who entered upon their office at the beginning of the year, and were called *consules ordinarii*.—**antequam . . . eniterentur**: the subj. is used with *antequam* if purpose is implied and the action does not take place. In this case the attainment of ambition is prevented by death. Cf. M. 360, etc.—**luctantis** = *luctantes*.—**aetas reliquit** = *vita reliquit*.—**titulum sepulcri**: for the sole reward that honors might be inscribed upon their sepulchres.

XX.—1. spiritus liquit: cf. *aetas reliquit*, 19, 3, N.—**quem accipiendis inmortem rationibus**, i. e. dying while he is in the very act of making and receiving his worldly gains; *rationibus*, dat. after *in* in composition.—**diu tractus**, *long put off*, i. e. by the long life of the one whose heir he is.—**2. Turannius**: he was appointed to the office of *praefectus annonae* by Augustus just before his death, and was the first incumbent after that position was made permanent.—**vacationem**, i. e. dismissal; Tacit. *Ann.* i. 7; xi. 31; Sueton. *August.* 37.—**conponi se**, viz. *ut moribundum*.—**invat**, sc. *alicui*.—**nullo alio nomine**, *on no other account*.—**3. a quinquagesimo anno**: cf. 4, 1, N.—**in conspicuo**, *before the eyes*.—**nemo non**, *every one*; Z. 755.

4. Quidam . . . disponunt: persons generally left a sum of money with which to build their tombs, but frequently they were built during the lifetime of their intended occupants. Augustus, in his sixth consulship, built the mausoleum between the *Via Flaminia* and the Tiber, and planted around it woods and laid out walks for public use. On the *Via Appia* and other roads tombs were erected extending for miles. Cf. Guhl & Koner's "The Life of the Greeks and Romans," p. 375-386.—**munera**:

gladiators, called *bustuarii*, were often hired to fight around the burning funeral pile; cf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 85.—**exsequias**: this term was usually applied to the funeral procession (*pompa funebris*). The order of the procession was regulated by the *designator funebris*, who was attended by lictors dressed in black (Cic. *De Legib.* ii. 24). It was headed by musicians, and accompanied by hired mourners, players, buffoons, etc. The freedmen of the deceased followed, wearing the cap of liberty. For a full account of funerals among the Romans, cf. Dict. Antiq., article "Funus;" also, Guhl & Koner's work, referred to above.—**ad faces et cereos ducenda sunt**: the funerals of children and of those who died very early in life were, for the most part, celebrated at night; cf. *De Tranq.* 11, 5, n.; *Epist.* 122, 10.

DE VITA BEATA.

ARGUMENTUM.—I. A happy life is sought for by all, but what it is, or how it can be attained, there is general ignorance. II., III. Concerning good and happy life we must not think with the vulgar, but with the best and noblest. Happy life, according to Stoic teaching. IV., V. Fuller description of the highest good. Happy life rests on reason and virtue, not on pleasure. VI. Virtue cannot be copulated with pleasure. Criticism on some sayings of Epicurus's followers. VII., VIII. Virtue cannot be joined to an evil life, to which *voluptas* leads. To live happily, and according to nature, is the same thing, reason alone being mistress. IX.—XI. Virtue is sought for its own sake. He proceeds to discriminate by showing what separates Epicureans and Stoics concerning the highest good. XII., XIII. They do not truly follow Epicurus who seek pleasure alone, for he enjoined good and right things. XIV., XV. Pleasure must obey the rule of reason and virtue. He repeats that virtue and pleasure cannot be forced into union. XVI.—XVIII. Virtue alone suffices for living happily; why, then, is more required? Answer: Not a philosopher's life merely, but his precepts to be accepted and followed. XIX., XX. Objections against philosophers frivolous. They persuade to noble deeds, though they may not act equal to what they say. XXI.—XXIII. Repels calumnies, many of which were probably directed against Seneca himself. A wise man does not despise riches, which, although held by the Stoics to be among indifferent things, afford material and field for practice of virtue. XXIV.—XXVI. On use of wealth for divers good purposes. A wise man holds riches to be useful, but not necessarily a good. Difference between a foolish rich man and a wise rich man. XXVII., XXVIII. Earnest and forceful words of Socrates against slanderers of truth and virtue.

Cap. I.—1. Gallio: L. Junius, the elder brother of Seneca. His name originally was M. Annaeus Novatus, but after his adoption by the rhetorician, Junius Gallio, he was named after his adopted father. He is said to have committed suicide, A.D. 65. The present treatise addressed to him was written probably by Seneca in the latter part of his life, when he had become an object of calumny to many on account of his wealth. It may not improperly be considered as in some sort a defence of his own

life as well as an apology for his great wealth.—**eo . . . quo**: M. 270, obs. 1.—**si via lapsus est**, *if he has slipped from*, i. e. *lost the way*.—**itaque**: expresses relation of cause in facts (Z. 344, note): since men are blind to perceive, etc., *therefore*.—**illo**: adverb; literally, *to that place* = *thereto*.—**intellecturi**: fut. part. denoting design; H. 549, 3; B. & M. 1355.—**profligetur**, v. l. *profligamus*, because of the unusual signification in which *profligare* is here used. Lips. quotes from Livy, *ita fortasse decuit, deos ipsos committere ac profligare bellum, nos autem commissum ac profligatum conficere*. He also refers to Tacitus and other writers as using the word in the same sense, and remarks that *profligare* is to enter upon and carry forward an action to a considerable extent, although not quite to completion.—**quantoque . . . simus**, *and how much nearer we are to that*; *ab* belongs to *simus*, separated by tmesis.

2. laboremus: concessive subj.—**cui**: dat. of agent; H. 515; B. & M. 1281; A. & G. 266 c. r.—**hic**: adverb=in this case.—**In illis . . . at hic**: antithetical.—**comprensus . . . interrogati**: conditional participles.—**limes**, i. e. *via agrestis angustaque*.—**tritissima quaeque . . . celeberrima**, *all the best beaten and most frequented paths*; vid. Arnold's Lat. Prose Comp., *quaeque* with superlat.; also, *De Prov.* 2, 2, n.—**3. pecorum ritu**: a very appropriate figure, which, according to Plutarch, Cato the Elder once used in regard to the Roman people: "You, he said, are like a flock of sheep. You do not severally obey different ones, but as a whole you follow after any one who will be your leader."—**sed quo itur**, *but where the mass are accustomed to go*. Observe that *itur* expresses customary action.—**conponimur** = we connect ourselves with every rumor; verb used in a middle sense.—**ad similitudinem**, *according to the example or manner of men*.—**aliorum super alios**, *one upon one, and another upon another*, or, *one upon the other*.

4. ipse: when does this agree with the subject rather than the object? M. 487 b.—**premit**, *press hard or crowd*.—**nemo . . . errat**: suggestive of St. Paul's words, Rom. xiv. 7, "For none of us liveth to himself," etc., though used in a different connection.—**hoc**: antecedent to *quod*, above.—**videas licet**: cf. M. 361; Z. 574.—**et causa et auctor**, *the cause as well as the occasion*; Z. 338.

—**adplicari**: subject-infin. of *nocet*.—**versat**, i. e. *sollicitat, turbat*; subject, *error*.—**traditus per manus**, *handed or delivered down from hand to hand*, i. e. from father to son.—**5. comitiis**: on the Roman *comitia*, cf. Dict. Antiq.—**mobilis** = *fickle, inconstant*; applied to any thing readily moved about by force of the winds, as a weathercock, etc.; cf. Cicero, *Pro Murena*, 17; Hor. *Od.* i. 1, 7, 8.—**se . . . circumegit**, *has whirled itself about*.—**in quo secundum plures datur**, *in which judgment is given by the majority*, i. e. in which the majority rule.

II.—1. non est quod . . . respondeas, *there is no occasion for your answering*; cf. *De Tranq.* 1, 2, N.; *respondeas*, subj. in an indefin. relative sentence; Z. 561 b, 562; H. 503, note 2; M. 372, obs. 6.—**discessionum**: there were three ways in which the vote was taken in the Senate—1, by voice, when each senator responded to the question of the consul, *assentio*; 2, when difference of opinions existed, the leaders took their positions on separate seats, and their several supporters ranged themselves by their side; this was called *pedibus sententiam ire*, or the decision *per discessionem*; 3, remaining in their seats, they signified assent with uplifted hands; Lips.—**Hæc pars . . . videtur**: the usual formula of declaring the vote, similar to our “the ayes, or noes, seem to have it.”—**peior est**: cf. *Epist.* 29, 10, *quid . . . philosophia præstabit?* etc.—**Non tam . . . agitur**, *it does not go so well with human affairs*.—**volgo**: dat. of agent, by what rule? H. 388, 1; B. & M. 844; A. & G. 232 b.—**tam chlamydotos quam coronatos**, for *tam coronatos quam chlamydotos*, a kind of hystero-logia frequent in Seneca; literally, *as well those wreathed with a crown as those who wear the chlamys*. This was a Grecian scarf, originally military, but afterwards worn by actors, women and children, and also by common soldiers. The youths wore it until the age of twenty. The *coronati* were the victors, either soldiers, poets, pugilists, etc., who received a crown of garlands; vid. Dict. Antiq. The words indicate figuratively two classes of mankind, high and low, noble and ignoble, etc. Lips. conjectures, *candidatos quam coloratos*, i. e. as well those clothed in white as those attired in colored clothes, on the ground that the more respectable were clothed in white, and thus distinguished from

the rabble, the *colorati*. He urges this as being more consistent with the context, *Non enim colorem vestium*, etc.

2. oculis . . . non credo: since with the eyes the real life cannot be seen; *credo*, with dat., *I trust*.—**diiudicem**: subj. of result; H. 503, note 2; B. & M. 1218.—**tortus a se**, *tested or tried by itself*, i. e. after self-examination.—**in multis rideo**, v. l. *mutis in-video*.—**quanto**: adverb.—**levius**, v. l. *melius*.—**3. si modo . . . gratia est**: a modification of the main statement. Lips. quotes Sallust, *inter bonos amicitia, inter malos fuctio est*.—**ut me . . . educerem**, *to withdraw myself from*.—**aliqua dote** = by some particular gift or talent, or, perhaps, by some marked action; a frequent post-Aug. meaning.—**quid aliud quam . . . opposui**, *what else did I do but oppose myself to the weapons*. A tense of *facere* is omitted in short propositions containing an opinion on a person's action; this is so in various phrases. Cf. Z. 771.—**aut, quod in aequo est**, *or, what is to the same purpose*.—**esse**: supply *hostes*.—**populus**, *throng, or multitude*; post-Aug. signification.

III.—1. Quin (from *qui-ne, non*): primarily means, *how not, why not*; cf. M. 375, obs. 5.—**usu**, *in respect to profit*.—**quod sentiam**, *which I experience*, i. e. *in animo*, like the French *sentir*.—**sentiam . . . ostendam**: subj. after relat. with indefinite antecedent.—**ostendam**, *in apparatu et pompa*; Lips.—**ad quae consistitur**, sc. *populis*, *near which people delay*.—**foris**, i. e. *extrinsecus*, on the outside, outwardly; opposed to *introrsus*, on the inside, inwardly; cf. *De Prov.* 6, 4, N.—**in speciem** (for ablat. *specie*), *for appearance' sake*.—**a secretiore parte** = in that which is less visible to the eye.—**Hoc**, i. e. *a secretiore parte*.—**eruamus** = *inveniamus*.

2. circumitus: post-Aug., *circumlocutions*.—**et . . . et**, *as well . . . as*.—**coarguere**, i. e. *confutare*.—**non adligo me**, etc.: cf. *Epist.* 45, 4, to the same purpose.—**proceribus**, i. e. *Zeno, Chrysippus, Cleanthes*.—**censendi ius**, *the right of expressing opinion, or of voting*. This and the following sentences, to *Hoc amplius censeo* inclusive, embody the phraseology of the Senate in legislation.—**sententiam dividere**, i. e. *to divide a proposition containing several parts, so that the question might be taken on each separately*. The call was made, *divide* (imperative).—**citatus**:

each senator was called upon in the order of his rank.—**rerum naturae**, *nature*, the *deus* of the Stoics.

3. Beata est . . . suae: in this the Stoics placed the highest good of man. Lips. quotes Chrysippus, τὸ τέλος εἶναι ἀκολούθως τῇ φύσει ζῆν.—**conveniens**, *harmonious with*.—**quae** = *et haec*, i. e. *vita*.—**patiens**: cf. *De Constant. Sap.* 14, 2.—**sine admiratione**: cf. Horace's well-known *nil admirari*, etc., *Epist.* i. 6, 1.—**usura . . . servitura**: fut. part. denoting inclination, *inclined to use, inclined to be in servitude*.—**4. perpetuam . . . libertatem**: cf. *Epist.* 92, 3, *quid est beata vita?* etc.—**in ipsis flagitiis noxia**, i. e. in the case of acts done in the heat of passion, hurtful.—**omnis . . . feritas**: cf. *De Ira*, i. 16, 27.

IV.—1. eadem sententia, sc. *potest*.—**non**: modifies *iisdem*, *not the same* = *different (aliis)*.—**sinuata media parte**: ablat. absol., *the middle swelling outward like a crescent*.—**illi**: dat. of possession; H. 387; B. & M. 821; A. & G. 231.—**standi**: limits *voluntas*, *desire of making a stand*.—**ita**: answer to *quemadmodum*, above.—**fnitio**, v. l. *definitio*.—**exporrigi**: post-Aug., used by Pliny, Persius, etc.—**colligi**, *compressed*, i. e. comprised in a few words.—**2. conversantium cura**, *regard for those much in one's company*, those with whom one associates much; *conversor* is post-Aug., much used by Seneca; cf. *De Clement.* i. 3, 2.—**finire** = *definire*, *to define*.—**extollant . . . frangent . . . noverit**: consecutive subjunctives.

3. si evagari velis, *if you wish to amplify*.—**aliam . . . faciem**, *one and another* (i. e. *different*) *aspect*. The thought is, you may view the same idea in different aspects, provided its force remain unimpaired.—**potestate**, i. e. *significatione*.—**prohibet**: usually followed as a verb of hindering by *quominus* or *ne*, with subj., but sometimes, as in this instance, by accus. with infin.; Z. 544, note.—**interritum**, *undismayed by fear*; cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* v. 14, *volumus eum, qui beatus sit, tutum esse, inexpugnabilem, septum atque munitum; non ut parvo metu praeditus sit, sed ut nullo*.

4. velit nolit: familiar expression for *sive velit, sive nolit*, suppose he were willing, suppose he were unwilling, i. e. *whether he were willing or not*; M. 442 b, obs.—**sequatur**; consecutive subj., *ut* being omitted after *necesse est*; M. 373, obs. 1; Z. 625.—**ex alto**,

from the depths of the heart.—**ut quae=cum ea.** The force of *qui* in causal sentences is increased by *ut*; H. 517; B. & M. 1253, obs. 2.—**corpusculi**: diminutive used as an expression of contempt.—**et=etiam.**—**quo die**, etc., *on the day he shall become the slave of pleasure he will become the subject of pain.*

V.—1. servitutem: after *serviturus sit*, accus. of kindred signification; H. 371, 1, 3; B. & M. 713; A. & G. 238.—**dominia=domini.**—**alternis**, sc. *vicibus*, *by turns, alternately.*—**exeundum . . . est**, sc. *nobis*, *we must rise into liberty.*—**in tuto conlocata**, *securely established.*—**diffusio animi** = *lucetitia, serenitas.*—**ex bono suo ortis**, *those things that arise from his own goodness*, i. e. the fruit of good inhering in him.

2. Quoniam . . . rationis, *since I have begun to treat this matter largely, or liberally, I may add that he can be called blessed who, by the aid of reason, neither desires nor fears anything.*—**cupit nec timet**, sc. *quidquam.*—**Quoniam et**: the ellipsis in the thought may be supplied thus, "I mention reason because," etc.; *quoniam* assigns a motive rather than a conclusive reason; Z. 346.—**dixerit**: perf. subj. used as softened indic., not essentially different from fut., *any one will not call them happy*, etc.

3. illis, i. e. *pecoribus et animalibus.*—**extra veritatem proiectus**, *one who has taken himself outside the pale of truthfulness.*—**lacerationes, vellicationes**: the former refer to the body, the latter to the mind; cf. *De Ira*, iii. 43, 5.—**statura semper ubi constitit**, *proposing*, i. e. *resolving to stand where she has taken her stand.*—**ac . . . vindicatura**, *and determined to maintain her position even against an irate and hostile fortune.* Observe use of fut. parts.—**4. Nam quod . . . pertinet**, *for in regard to pleasure.*—**omnes vias**, *all avenues of the senses.*—**aliaque ex aliis admoveat**, *and though she applies one means after another*; *admoveat*: concess. subj.; H. 515; B. & M. 1282.—**velit**: deliberative subj.; H. 484, v.; B. & M. 1780.—**deserto animo . . . dare**, *to attend to the body at the expense of the mind*; *deserto animo*: abl. absol.

VI.—1. inquit, *says he*, i. e. the Epicurean, the man who finds happiness in pleasure, and who confounds the pleasures of the body with those of the mind.—**arbiter**: in apposition with

what?—**praeterita respiciat**, etc.: a dogma of Epicurus, that the wise man enjoys present, recalls past, and anticipates future pleasures; cf. Cic. *De Fin.* ii.; Lips.—**immineat**, *let him reach out or grasp after*, like a miser, as it were.—**sagina**, *fatness*, produced by much eating; post-Aug.—**legere**, *to choose*.

2. cui: dat. of agent.—**Beatus ergo**, etc. Compare these with the beatitudes of the Divine Master, and although granting that they embody great moral truths, to which Seneca had attained, yet we cannot but perceive how far short they are of those cheering and heart-searching truths contained in the Sermon on the Mount.—**iudicii rectus**: cf. 5, 3.—**omnem . . . suarum**, *every disposition of his affairs*; **habitus**: mostly post-Aug. in this signification.—**Videt et in illis**, v. l. *vident illi*.—**et** = *etiam*.—**in illis** = *in voluptatibus*; sc. *esse*.—**Videt et . . . quam turpi illud loco**, i. e. a man of correct judgment sees also in how ignoble a position, etc.—**Itaque negant**, etc., *and so they deny that pleasure can be separated from virtue*.—**quemquam vivere**, sc. *ita*, followed by *ut* with consec. subj.

3. ista tam diversa, *these things differing so widely*, viz. the life of pleasure and the life of virtue; *tam* is rejected in some editions.—**videlicet quia**: the answer to the preceding question, rendered by the advocate of the compatibility of virtue and pleasure, to whom the question is supposed to be addressed.—**huius**, i. e. *virtutis*.—**si . . . essent . . . videremus**: note force of impf. subj. in hypothetical period; II. 510; B. & M. 1267; A. & G. 308.—**indiscreta**, *not distinguishable, inseparable*.—**sed honesta**, v. l. *sed non honesta*.—**exigenda**, *to be attained*.

VII.—1. Adice = *advice*.—**quod, that**.—**et, even**, i. e. some are unhappy, *even* with pleasure.—**qua virtus . . . indiget**, *which (pleasure) virtue often lacks, but never needs*.—**immo diversa**, *nay more, whose tendencies are in opposite directions*.—**Altum quiddam est virtus . . . voluptas humile**: antithetical clauses.—**cuius statio**, *whose sphere*.

2. coloratam, *flushed with heat*; cf. *De Const. Sap.* 13, 2.—**bali-neā**: *balineum* or *balneum* (βαλανείον) primarily signifies a *bath* or bathing-vessel; hence also applied to the chamber containing the bath. In early times one room sufficed, but afterwards, as wealth

increased, a number of rooms, even in private houses, were designated by the word *balnea*. Vid. Dict. Antiq., under this title.—**sudatoria**: for the use of the *sudatorium*, or central space in the thermal chamber, vid. as above, Dict. Antiq.; cf. also, Juv. *Sat.* vi. 420.—**loca aedilem metuentia**: the aediles were, as has been remarked, the moral police of old Rome. They superintended buildings, public and private; took care of the streets and pavements, and cleaning and draining the city; kept an oversight of the markets and sales there, and watched the weights and measures in use. They were charged also with the duty of preserving decency and order in public baths and houses of entertainment; they too looked after prostitutes and houses of ill-fame. Vid. Dict. Antiq.—**medicamentis** = *cosmetics, paints*.—**pollinctam, washed**, as corpses are washed for funerals; v. l. *pollutam*.

3. nescit exire, i. e. *it cannot perish*.—**optima**, *being itself the best*, qualifies the subject of *mutavit*, i. e. *illa* = *recta mens*, above; observe its position as the emphatic word.—**non multum loci habet**, *it does not occupy much room*. The idea is that pleasure is short-lived and transitory in its operations and experiences, and hence, in comparison with virtue, which has the contrary qualities, its operations are contracted within narrow limits.—**in ipso . . . periturum**, *having a tendency to perish in its very use*.—**et dum . . . finem**, *and even at its beginning is near its end*.

VIII.—1. Quid, quod = *quid dicam de eo, quod*; *nay, even, or moreover*; cf. *De Brev. Vit.* 17, 1, N.; also, H. 454, 2; M. 479 d, obs. 1; Z. 769.—**comes**, *follower*.—**2. Hoc** = *secundum naturam vivere*.—**si . . . conservabimus . . . subierimus . . . possederint . . . fuerint**: the several conditions of the protasis; the apodosis to be supplied, *secundum naturam vivemus*. The sentiment is that he can live according to nature who employs the gifts (*dots*) of the body as nature demands; who does not subject himself to the slavish influences of the goods of this life, but uses them and makes them subserve proper ends; who does not allow covetousness or desire for another's goods (*aliena*) to possess him; and who does not glut himself with superfluities (*adventicia*), but uses them as aids (*auxilia*) when necessity demands.—**in utrumque**, *against or for either event* = *mori aut vivere*.—**artifex vitae**: in

the sense of the old proverb, "Every man is the artificer of his own fortune."—**Fiducia eius** = *fiducia sui*, self-confidence.—**illi**: dat. after *placita*; H. 391; B. & M. 860.—**litura**, *alteration* or *correction*. The idea is, let him not determine any thing that will give occasion for repentance.

3. Intellegitur, *it is plain*.—**in iis quae . . . magnificum**, i. e. in entertainments, generous.—**ratio sensibus iusita**: the idea appears to be, not that the reason inheres in or is entirely under the lead of the senses, but that it acts through them.—**unde** = *a quo*.—**in se revertatur**: supply *et* to connect with preceding clause.—**mundum** (v. l. *mundus*): the Stoic *mundus* is simply the matter or substance of their *deus*. They "teach that whatever is real is material. Matter and force are the two ultimate principles. . . . The working force in the universe is god. . . . At the end of a certain cosmical period all things are reabsorbed into the deity, the whole universe being resolved into fire in a general conflagration. The evolution of the world then begins anew, and so on without end" (Ueberweg's "Hist. of Philosophy," i. 194).—**deus**: "there are two elements in nature; the first is ὕλη πρώτη, or primordial matter, the impassive element from which things are formed; the second is the active element, which forms things out of matter—reason, destiny (εἰμαρμένη), god. The divine reason operating on matter bestows upon it the laws which govern it, laws which the Stoics called λόγοι σπερματικοί, or productive causes. God is the reason of the world" (Lewes's "Hist. of Ancient Philosophy," vol. i. p. 290). Cf. Ueberweg, as above; also, Zeller's "Stoics," etc., p. 192.

4. persuasione, *conviction*, usual post-Aug. meaning.—**Quae . . . tetigit**, i. e. when all the parts of the mind under the guidance of reason work harmoniously, each performing its own proper functions, then has the mind attained the highest good, i. e. peace of mind.—**ut ita dicam**, *so to speak*.—**5. arietet**, *it stumbles*; frequent in Seneca; cf. *De Prov.* 1, 2, n., *arietet, in pravo*; *labet, in lubrico*; Lips.—**pugnam**, *a conflict*, i. e. a want of harmony in the mind.—**dissident vitia**, *vices are always at variance with each other*.

IX.—1. herbulae, i. e. *the flower*.—**2. placet**: denotes the cause; *delectat*, the effect.—**Summum bonum in ipso iudicio**:

in other words, the highest good is dependent on the exercise of human reason—a sentiment not in accord with revelation or experience.—**habitu optimae mentis**. Zeno (quoted by Cicero) used to say that not only the practice of virtue, but the possession of a virtuous mind was excellent and praiseworthy, yet no one ever possessed virtue who did not practise it.—**quae** = *et ea* = *mens*; B. & M. 701.—**Nihil enim extra totum est**, i. e. a virtuous mind has all good within itself.—**3. ipsa pretium sui**: virtue is its own reward.—**subtilitas**: Lips. conjectures *sublimitas*.—**laxior**, *more disordered*.

X.—1. Dissimulas, you profess ignorance of.—iucunde vivere, nisi . . . vivit: the sentiment of Epicurus, in his letter to Menoeceus (given in Diog. Laërt. x. 132), “One cannot live pleasantly who does not also live discreetly and honestly;” and he then adds, “Nor rightly unless pleasantly, for kindred virtues belong to a pleasant life, and cannot be separated from it.”—**quod** = *honeste vivere*.—**inquit**, v. l. *inquam*.—**vitam, quam**, etc., i. e. *true* pleasure is inseparably connected with a life of virtue.—**Atqui**: admits that which precedes, but opposes something else to it; Z. 349.—**voluptatibus vestris**: sensual pleasures merely, as opposed to pleasures of the mind.—**stultissimos quosque**: cf. M. 485, on force of *quisque* with superlat.

2. fluentis = *fluentes*.—**segnis animi indormientis sibi**, i. e. a mind that is so absorbed in itself as to be negligent of all duties external to itself.—**3. aurem pervellit**: proverb, to pull by the ears, i. e. admonishes or incites to serious reflection.—**temperantia autem . . . minuatur, summi . . . est**: adversative and antithetical, embodying the Epicurean idea of moderation in pleasures, as opposed to *temperantia laeta est*, the restraint of which is obnoxious to the Epicureans, who placed all good in pleasure.—**Tu**, i. e. the follower of Epicurus whose views he is controverting.—**ego utor**. St. Augustine says, “We enjoy God, but use everything else.” Florus also (bk. ii.) remarks of Hannibal, after the battle of Cannae, that “although he could have used his victory, he preferred to enjoy it; and, leaving Rome behind, passed into Campania and Tarentum.”—**de illo loquor**, i. e. I do not assert this of myself, who have not yet arrived to that

excellence, but of that ideal wise man, who has reached the highest good.

XI.—1. nedom voluptas, i. e. much less would I call him happy who is a slave to voluptuousness; M. 461, obs. 3.—**mundi fragores** = earthquakes, thunder-storms, etc.—**adversario**, i. e. *voluptas*.—**suasura sit**: fut. part. denotes purpose and tendency, *likely to persuade*; H. 549, 3; B. & M. 1355.—**cui**: dative of possession.

2. Virtus autem: for similar line of argument against a dogma of Aristotle, cf. *De Ira*, i. 9, 2.—**cum . . . sit**: causal subj.; H. 517; B. & M. 1250.—**parentis . . . imperantis**: gen. of duty or custom; M. 282.—**a tergo . . . imperat?** *do you place the leader behind?*—**prae gustare**: to perform, as it were, the office of a *prae-gustator* to pleasure, as to a mistress. The passage is similar to one in Cicero (*De Fin.* ii. 21, 69), where Cleanthes is represented as drawing the picture of the goddess *Voluptas*, arrayed in regal attire and sitting on a throne. The Virtues stand near as attendants, both to minister to her wishes and aid her with counsel, that she may do nothing imprudent, which might result in pain.—**apud quos = a quibus**.—**si loco cessit**, *if she has yielded her proper place*, i. e. the first and highest.—**de quo agitur**, *concerning the matter in question*.—**fatearis**: subj. dependent upon *necesse est*, which also may take accus. with infin., *ut* omitted; H. 502; B. & M. 1222.

3. Nomentanum: a noted spendthrift and epicure. Horace frequently refers to him as an example of extreme dissoluteness. Cf. *Sat.* i. 1. 102, 8. 11; ii. 1. 22, 3. 175, etc.—**Apicium**: M. Gabius Apicius, the most renowned of a trio of that name, who gained celebrity by their gluttony, flourished under Tiberius. After finding that he had spent some \$3,000,000 in riotous indulgence, and had only about \$300,000 left, he put an end to his career by poison, as it would be impossible for him, he thought, to live on such a pittance. Schools in the culinary art were named from him. Cf. *Consol. ad Helv.* 10, 2; *Epist.* 94, 43; 120, 20; also, Class. Dict.—**conquirentis, recognoscentis** = *conquirentes, recognoscentes*; cf. Z. 68, note.—**omnium gentium animalia**: birds and fish were sought from all parts of the world; cf. *Consol. ad Helv.* 9, 9.—

e *suggestu rosae*, *from the bed of roses*; a reference, probably, to the richness of the couches on which they reclined at dinner, or perhaps to the wearing of chaplets or garlands of roses at meals. Roses were distributed at the *mensa secunda*, and were supposed to exercise beneficial influence. The *suggestus* is supposed to be the couch in the semicircular shape called *sigma*, from its resemblance to that letter, which replaced the more ancient *triclinium*, after round tables came into general use. Cf. Becker's "Gallus," p. 261; Guhl & Koner's "The Life of the Greeks and Romans," pp. 444, 445.—*spectantis* = *spectantes*.—*aures* . . . *oculos*: the wealthy Romans enlivened their dinners with music, histrionic performances, delicious odors, etc.—*fomentis*: according to Lips., reference is here intended to the rubbing by slaves of their masters' limbs at bathing and other times. Bouillet makes the word equivalent to *pulvillis*, *small cushions*.—*cessent*, i. e. *a voluptate*.—*parentatur*: *impers. governs dat.*, appropriately used, as if they were feasting at their own funerals; cf. *Epist.* 122, 3; 12, 8. The latter furnishes a striking illustration of the reckless indecency of a noted debauchee, Pacuvius.—*nec tamen* . . . *gaudent*, *and yet it will not go pleasantly with them* (i. e. they will not be happy), *because they take no pleasure in goodness*.

XII.—1. inquit, i. e. the advocate of pleasure, the epicure.—*quod* = *et id*: accus. subject of infin.—*inaequales* = *inconstantes*: at one time elated with joy, at another depressed with sadness.—*sub ictu poenitentiae*: literally, *under the blow of penitence*, i. e. in the power of penitence, since sorrow and shame are apt to follow close upon the heels of folly.—*hilarem insaniam insanire*, *they are mad with a jovial madness*; *insaniam*, cognate accus.; H. 371, I. 2, 1; B. & M. 713; cf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 302.

2. remissae, *mild or cheerful*.—*vix notabiles*, *scarcely observable*.—*ut quae* . . . *veniant*, *since they come unsought*; causal sentence—*ut* merely strengthens the causal relative sentence; H. 517; B. & M. 1253.—*accersitae* = *arcessitae*.—*quamvis* . . . *accesserint*: concessive subj.; *quamvis* properly signifies, *however much you will*, and the subj. by itself expresses the concession.—*per quod vitium*, i. e. *per quam societatem* (viz. *virtuti voluptatem implicare*).—*pessimis quibusque adulantur*, *they pay court to all*

the most corrupt; *adulare* is properly used of dogs, and signifies primarily to creep or sneak up to a person, and in that sense always takes accus. In its figurative sense of servile flattery it is also used with accus., but more commonly with dat.; Z. 389, note 3; *quisque*: cf. 10, 1, N.

3. *ille*, *that one*, by way of example, one of the class characterized by *pessimus*.—*ructabundus*: Lips. prefers this to *reptabundus* of Pincian and others, on the ground that it is more consonant with *ebrius*.—*vitiis* . . . *inscribit*: led on by the example of those affirming the compatibility and identity of pleasure and virtue, the vilest openly flaunt their excesses, and take refuge under the banner of Epicurus, whose wisdom they claim to possess.—*profitetur*: he boasts of his vices as worthy of praise. The vicious may (and do) say, We follow a life of pleasure. Why not? Epicurus says it is the highest good.

4. *illa*: used with reference to what is *well known*. The idea is, he who wishes for an excuse for his vices does not consider how moderate was the pleasure advocated by Epicurus, who is rarely credited with his real views.—*peccandi verecundiam*: in apposition with *bonum*.—*ideoque*, etc.: no chance for youth to recover from vicious follies when once deceived by the fallacies of Epicureanism.

XIII.—1. *quod corrumpit adparet*: the very name and praise of pleasure are corrupting, because they afford an occasion and a means to the vicious of cloaking their vices, and of perverting that which has some good in it.—(*invitis hoc* . . . *dicam*), *I will say this, though the men of our* (the Stoic) *school dissent*; *popularis*: used of one belonging to a party, sect, faction, etc. Sallust (*Catil.* 24) uses it of the accomplices of Catiline.—*sancta Epicurum*: cf. *Epist.* 33, 1–3.—*tristia*, *severe, exacting*.—*virtuti legem*, i. e. *ad naturam vivere*; cf. 3, 3, N.; also, *Epist.* 4, 8.

2. *parere naturae*: cf. *Epist.* 4, just quoted, for what is meant by obedience to nature, viz. to be free from hunger, thirst, cold, etc.—*Quid ergo*: *what, then*, is the objection against praise of pleasure?—*bonum* . . . *auctorem*, i. e. he seeks some honorable, philosophical authority for a bad thing.—*illo*: adv. *thither*, viz. *bonum auctorem*.—*blando nomine inductus*: under cover of a fair

name.—**audit** = *discit a philosophis*.—**inde**, from that time.—**aperto capite**: ablat. abs. = *in the sight of all men*; v. l. *operto*.—**male audit**, it has a bad reputation, i. e. it hears itself disparagingly mentioned.

3. interius admissus: one who has been admitted to an intimate knowledge of the teachings of the Epicurean sect.—**Frons eius ipsa**, etc. Its very approaches give occasion for conjectures of something vicious within, or for gross misrepresentation. Epicurus had his Garden, as Plato his Academy, Zeno his Stoa or Porch, and Aristotle his Lyceum. At the entrance of the Garden was placed this inscription: "The hospitable keeper of this mansion, where you will find *pleasure the highest good*, will present you liberally with barley cakes and water fresh from the spring. The gardens will not provoke your appetite by artificial dainties, but satisfy it with natural supplies. Will you not be well entertained?" Cf. Lewes, Ueberweg, and Zeller, already referred to.—**stolam**, v. l. *stola*: a woman's loose, flowing robe; also, the dress of a voluptuary; cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 2, 99. Government of? H. 377; B. & M. 733.—**tibi**: ethical dat.; cf. H. 389; B. & M. 838.—**veritas**, v. l. *virilitas*.—**patientiae**: endurance of unnatural lust or passion; cf. *De Prov.* 3, 11; Cic. *in Verr.* ii. 5, 13.—**tympanum**: a mark of lasciviousness, since it was used by the Corybantes in their orgies in the worship of Cybele.—**cum** = *simul ac, as soon as*.

4. generosae indolis spem, *hope of noble qualities*.—**perventurus**: fut. part.; cf. 11, 1, N.—**ex eis** = *eorum*.—**Agedum**, *well then*; used in transitions in discourse.—**in ipsa est modus**. The idea that there can be no excess in virtue, and that in one all are comprehended, seems almost general among the ancient philosophers. The idea here is that a virtue can be neither more nor less a virtue; there is no golden mean. Lips. (in his "Manuductio," iii. Diss. 4) quotes Menedemus and Ariston (3d century B.C.) as saying, "There is but one virtue, though set off under various titles." See also Cic. *De Fin.* v. 23 (67); cf. "Epistles of L. A. Seneca, with large Annotations," by Thomas Morell, D.D., vol. i. p. 259, on *Epist.* 67.—**quod magnitudine laborat sua**: cf. these words of Livy in the Preface to his History.

XIV.—1. Rationabilem: post-Aug.—**porro**: marks the prog-

ress of ideas developed in the last chapter, especially the thought above, *agedum*, etc.—**sortitis naturam**, to those who have received a reasonable nature.—[**si hoc placet . . . comitatu**]: Fickert brackets this sentence as an interpolation on the part of some one desirous of explaining the words, *si placet ista iunctura*.—**excelsissimam**, v. l. *excellentissimam*.—**voluptati . . . ancillam**, etc.: cf. 12, 2, N. on *praegustare*.—**capientis** = *concupientis*: pred. gen.—**temperatores** = *moderatores*.—**nihil coget**, sc. *sed*.

2. **ei** = *ii*, v. l. *hi*; this orthography of the plur. is very rare; cf. M. 83, obs. 1.—**principia** = precedence, the first place, a metaphor drawn from military life; cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ix. 35, 54.—**mari**: why ablat. without preposition? H. 425, II. 2; B. & M. 937, 2.—**Syrtico**: the Syrtes, Greater and Lesser, on the eastern half of the northern coast of Africa; cf. *Class. Dict.*—3. **caecae**, v. l. *caeco*.—**habentes** = *ii qui habent*.—**quo . . . eo**: ablatives of excess and deficiency; H. 423; B. & M. 929, 30.

4. **Permanere libet . . . imagine** = I am disposed to continue still further the comparison which I have just now employed.—**bestiarum . . . feras**: *bestia*, an animal without reason, in contradistinction to man; *fera*, a wild animal living on land, in contradistinction to domestic animals; cf. Ramshorn's *Latin Synonyms*, p. 96.—**laqueo captare**, etc.: quoted from Virgil, *Georg.* i, 139, 40.—**latos**, v. l. *magnos*.—**officiis**: ablat. of separation; cf. M. 262.—**pro ventre dependit**, sc. *se, he gives himself over for the sake of his belly*, as Apicius, Nomentanus, etc., 11, 3.

XV.—1. **confundi** = *coniungi*: in a good sense.—**summum bonum** = *virtus*.—**Quia pars**, etc., i. e. no part of the honorable can be dishonorable; and the argument is, if pleasure as an end is dishonorable, it hence cannot be part of or one with virtue, the chief good. The expression is very concise, a good instance of *multum in parvo*.—**gaudium**: according to the Stoics, *gaudium* is suited to the wise man alone, *voluptas* never. The former indicates the emotion which is caused by delight at some real or imagined good; the latter the pleasurable sensation created by a high degree of pleasure through the senses—voluptuousness. Cf. Ramshorn's *Latin Synonyms*.

2. **consequentia . . . non consummantia**, i. e. they do not con-

stitute a part of the chief good.—**ita demum**, etc.: the invincibility of virtue is conditioned only by the law that nothing is preferred before or estimated higher than herself.—**sequitur vita anxia**: the man who takes pleasure as his guiding principle becomes a slave to the caprices of fortune, and cannot endure the ills of body and vicissitudes of life with the same equanimity which he displays who makes virtue his aim.

3. benignus interpres: one who puts the most favorable construction on the ills that befall him, and regards them as a discipline to a good end. The spirit of the passage (*quomodo hic*, etc.) reminds one of the words of St. Paul (Rom. viii. 18), "I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us."—**patriae . . . propugnator**: cf. Hor. *Od.* iv. 9, 51.

4. frangendus: the height is to be diminished by the ascent; when once the steep is scaled, it ceases to exist as a difficulty to be overcome. Hence the peculiar force of *frangendus*.—**legem esse naturae**, i. e. he will know that the deity or fate has sent upon him all the difficulties of times and occasions; Lips.

5. illud . . . vetus praeceptum, deum sequere: Lips. quotes Boethius (*De Consol. Phil.* i. 4) as ascribing this precept to Pythagoras, and Cicero (*De Fin.* iii. 22, 73) as attributing it to one of the Seven Wise Men. The Stoics even sometimes formulated this as the highest good or chief end of man. Lips. also refers to Philo Judaeus (1st century A.D.) as saying (*De Migrat. Abrah.* p. 462), "The end, according to Moses, the holy one, is to follow God."

6. ex transverso, unexpectedly, though sent by deity or fate.—**Quicquid . . . patiendum est**: an allusion to the doctrine of fate and secondary causation. All things were connected together in a series by a universal *nexus*.—**usurpetur**: a conjectural reading of Fickert's; Haase gives *suscipiatur*. The mss. vary much in respect to this passage; some have, *magno visu* (or *nisu*) *eripiatur*; Lips. suggests, *magno nobis excipiatur*.—**sacramentum**: for *jusjurandum*, a military figure. As the soldiers are compelled by oath to follow the standard and obey the general, so are we forced to endure the casualties common to men; hence the inference, let us endure them courageously (*magno animo*). Cf. *Epist.*

95, 35.—**In regno**, i. e. *fortunae an verius fati*; Lips. Lodge translates, “We are born under a royal domination. It is liberty to obey God.”—**deo parere**: Lips. calls this a golden saying, and quotes Philo, the Jewish writer, “To obey God is not only better than liberty, but better far than ruling.” See *Parallels or Resemblances to Scripture*, at end of Introduction, p. 43.

XVI.—1. qua fas est, as far as it is the divine will.—**deum effingas**. This is language worthy of a Christian, when uttered from a Christian standpoint—that one should portray by his life the divine attributes in such wise as to exemplify by imitation the divine being, as far as it is possible for man so to do. We might almost believe that Seneca had heard of the apostle’s words, “Partakers of the divine nature” (2 Pet. i. 4). Cf. *De Const. Sap.* 8, 2.—**pro hac expeditione** = in return for this energetic bearing.—**et, even.**—**cogeris**: fut. pass. 2d sing. How does it differ from pres. pass.?—**ex sententia**, according to your wish.

2. sufficiat . . . superfluat: why subj.? H. 485; B. & M. 1180.—**immo superfluat**: *immo* gives an additional emphasis, or makes a correction, to what precedes; translate, *nay, I should rather ask, why is it (virtus or illa perfecta, etc.) not more than sufficient, ad beate vivendum?*—**extrinsecus**: used adjectively; cf. *De Tranq.* 10, 5.—**opus**: predicate; H. 414, iv. note 4; B. & M. 673, obs. 4.—**qui . . . tendit**: the wise man only has fully attained; others who are striving are merely on the road, but still are in the right course.—**luctanti**: agrees with *ei*.—**quod, that.**—**adligati . . . adstricti . . . destrecti**: observe distinction in these words. See *Lexicon*.

XVII.—1. Quare . . . vivis? *wherefore do you talk more strictly than you live?* The *argumentum ad hominem*, here and following, is one which Seneca has often had made against him. A writer in the *Westminster Review* (July, 1867) says, “Seneca’s position was equivocal. He was immensely rich, and he professed to admire poverty. . . . In his frequent eulogiums on poverty we do not think he was wholly insincere, though we regret that he did not recommend his theory by his practice. . . . After all abatements, we allow that Seneca was inconsistently and ungracefully

rich." Cf. also Merivale's "History of the Romans under the Empire," vol. vi. pp. 43, 186.—**verba submittis**, *why do you tender deceitful expressions?* hence, *why do you flatter?*

2. cultius rus, *a more ornamented country-seat*.—**naturalis usus**: a reference to the Stoic dogma, which the objector intimates Seneca does not keep.—**cur . . . coenas**: cf. *De Tranq.* 1, 3, N.—**nitidior**: a reference, probably, to the magnificent citron tables of Seneca; cf. *De Tranq.* 1, 4, N.—**apud te**, *at your house*. Seneca himself was very temperate, but he seems to have conformed freely to the convivial customs of his day in respect to entertainments.—**vinum aetate tua vetustius**: probably the celebrated wine known as the *Vinum Opimianum*. The vintage of the year when L. Opimius was consul, B.C. 121, was of unprecedented quality, owing to the extraordinary heat of the autumn. A large quantity was stored and preserved for many years. Cicero, in his *Brutus* (83), some eighty-five years afterwards, mentions its existence; and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xiv. 4, 5) mentions, A.D. 77, that even then some of this wine still remained. It was so strong and so much like rough honey, he tells us, that it could not be drunk unless largely diluted with water.—**cur annum disponitur?** Another troublesome passage. The readings of MSS. vary: Haase gives *arvum* for *annuum*; Pincian conjectures, *cur laute domus*; Michaelis, *argentum*; and Lipsius reads, *cur autem disponitur?*—**arbores . . . daturae**: the wealthy Romans had extensive groves of laurel, cypress, and plane trees.—**uxor tua**, i. e. Pompeia Paulina; cf. *De Brev. Vit.* 1, 1, N.—**locupletis . . . auribus gerit**. The Roman ladies wore very costly gems on their fingers and in their ears. Pliny tells of a pearl valued at 60,000,000 sesterces = about \$2,000,000. Seneca also speaks of "hanging from each ear the worth of two or three men's patrimonies" (*De Benef.* vii. 9, 4).—**paedagogium**: cf. *De Tranq.* 1, 5, N.—**pretiosa veste**: a tunic embroidered with gold.—**temere et ut libet**, *without regard to order, and at each one's pleasure*.—**scindendi obsonii magister**, *a master in carving*. The carver is called also *structor* and *carptor*. His art consisted not only in carving in a skilful manner, but also in dancing, and keeping regular time in his movements; cf. Becker's "Gallus," p. 121. Juvenal makes use of the term *chironomonta* (*Sat.* v. 120).

3. trans mare: in Britain and elsewhere.—**cur plura**, sc. *possides*; *plura* may include both servants and lands.—**plures**, sc. *servos*.—**quorum notitiae memoria sufficiat**: Fickert thinks Seneca may have written, *quorum memoriae sufficiat*.—**Adiuvabo**: the reply to the objector's criticisms begins here.—**Non sum sapiens**: though the Stoic held that there was such a thing as a *wise man*, yet he never hoped or expected to become one wholly himself.—**4. obiurgare**, *to correct*, i. e. by words and writings, and hence to repress; Lips.—**sanitatem** = *sapientiam Stoicam*.

XVIII.—1. ego enim, etc. The author modestly disclaims any excellence, so that he may not be a stumbling-block to others. He speaks rather for those who have made some progress (*aliquid acti*).—**Aliter . . . aliter** = *alio . . . alio*, i. e., in common phrase, "You say one thing and do another."—**capita** (= *capitulum*, post-Aug.; Lips.): in apposition with *hoc*.—**dicebant**, *were accustomed to say*.—**cum** = *simul ac*, *as soon as*.—**vivam quomodo oportet**, *I will live as I ought*.

2. vos: accus. object of *necatis*; malevolence drinks its own poison, and becomes its own victim.—**quo minus**: after verbs of hindering; Z. 543.—**et**: has force of *etsi*, *even if*.—**3. Rutilius**: cf. *De Prov.* 3, 5, N.—**quibus**: dat. of interest = *in whose opinion*.—**Demetrius Cynicus**: cf. *De Prov.* 3, 3, N.—**Cynicos**: cf. Ueberweg's "Hist. of Philosophy," vol. i. p. 92-94; Zeller's "Stoics," etc., p. 286-290.—**Vides enim?** ironical.

XIX.—1. Diodorum, Epicureum: little or nothing is known of this Diodorus.—**negant ex decreto**, etc., *they deny that he acted in accordance with the teaching of Epicurus*.—**conscientiae**: governed by *plenus*; H. 399, 3; B. & M. 776.—**aetatis . . . actae**: the figure is that of a ship lying at anchor in a quiet harbor. He is represented as passing a peaceful and quiet life, apart from the sea of turmoil and strife belonging to a public career.—**vobis**: dat. of agent.—**Vixi**, etc.: Virg. *Aen.* iv. 653.—**2. audeatis**: a nominal question.—**Negatis quemquam**: cf. 18, 1, N. *aliter*.

3. loquantur . . . conentur: causal subj.; H. 518; B. & M. 1250.—**omnis** = *omnes*.—**refigere**: to release themselves from the crosses which natural lusts and desires have erected for each

one. Every man by every act of vice and by inordinate desire drives a nail into his own cross, on which he must pay the penalty.—**ad supplicium . . . pendent**: yet when brought to punishment they hang suspended on a single beam; i. e. those who are in pursuit of wisdom are not distracted by as many desires as you are.—**in se ipsi**: Lips. reads, *in se ipsos*, and makes it refer to the subject of *pendent*, i. e. those in the pursuit of wisdom.—**aut maledici**, etc., i. e. the slanderers are charmed over the disgrace of another.

XX.—1. non est quod: cf. *De Tranq.* 2, 2, N.—**Studiorum salutarium**, etc.: a motto well worth remembering.—**citra effectum**: cf. Apuleius (quoted by Lipsius), *omnibus bonis in rebus conatus laude, effectus in casu est*.—**conantis** = *conantes*.—**2. adornatis**, sc. *iis*: dat. of agent.—**Qui**, such an one.—**audiam quo videbo**: by hyperbaton for *videbo quo audiam*; this figure is quite frequent in Seneca. The sentiment is that the approach of my own death will not move me more than the news of another's death.—**Ego . . . sentiam**, i. e. I will look with indifference upon fortune, whether she comes or goes.—**hoc nomine**, on this account.

3. Quo enim: the idea is, for what better purpose could nature use me than for others?—**omnis** = *omnes*.—**quod dignus accipiet**, which a worthy man shall receive at my hands.—**nihil opinionis causa**: cf. *De Ira*, iii. 41, *conscientiae satisfiat*; *nihil in famam laboremus*.—**populo . . . credam . . . faciam**, I will believe that whatever I do, when I am the only witness, is done in the sight of the whole world. Similar noteworthy sentiments occur in other parts of Seneca's writings.—**4. erit**: what is the subject?—**hos supra**, etc.: cf. *De Prov.* 6, 3.—**natura**, i. e. *dii*.—**ratio dimittet**, in reference to the Stoic teaching on suicide; cf. *De Prov.* 6, 6, N.

XXI.—1. tenuerit, i. e. *iter, cursum*.—**magnis tamen excidit ausis**: cf. Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 328.—**nihil novi facitis**, you do nothing new, that is, because you dare nothing noble and great. The thought is antithetical to the first: *novi*, partit. gen.—**hiscite**, etc. Those who abuse the virtuous are addressed under the figure of a dog.—**2. Quare ille philosophiae**, etc.: probably an allusion

to some attack on Seneca himself, who was very wealthy; cf. 17, 1, N.

3. non, sc. *ait ista debere contemni*.—**non abigit illa**: Lipsius quotes the elder Seneca as saying, "Who will reject the gifts of inflowing fortune?"—**abigit . . . prosequitur**, v. l. *abiget . . . prosequetur*.—**ubi tutius fortuna deponet . . . est?** *where indeed shall fortune more safely deposit her treasures than in a place whence she will recover them without complaint of the restorer?*—**M. Cato**, i. e. Cato Uticensis, or the Younger; vid. Class. Dict.—**Curium**: M. Curius Dentatus, the conqueror of Pyrrhus and the Samnites; cf. *De Tranq.* 3, 16, N.—**Coruncanium**: Tiberius Coruncanius, consul B.C. 280, a friend of Dentatus, was the first plebeian who became *pontifex maximus*. He was eminent as a statesman, and possessed a profound knowledge of pontifical and civil law. Cf. Class. Dict.—**ensorium crimen**: a crime to be noted by the censor. In B.C. 275 Corn. Rufinus, proconsul and ex-dictator, was expelled from the Senate by the censors, C. Fabricius and Q. Aemil. Papus, because he possessed ten pounds of silver plate. Cf. Livy, *Epit.* xiv.—**lamellae**: dat. of possession; cf. *De Brev. Vit.* 12, 1.—**quadrages sestertium** = *quadrages centena millia sestertiorum*, 4,000,000 sesterces, about \$150,000; cf. Z. 873. Lips. conjectures, *quadringenties sestertium* = about \$1,600,000.—**Crassus**: M. Crassus, noted for his wealth, was said to have possessed estates outside of Rome valued at 200,000,000 sesterces.—**Censorius Cato**: the great-grandfather of Cato of Utica.—**Non amat divitias . . . vult**: on the whole, the best excuse which Seneca could offer for being very rich, and using his riches in personal and social enjoyment, while preaching the opposite; cf. 17, 1, N.; also, INTRODUCTION, pp. 21, 22.

XXII.—1. maior materia sapienti viro, etc.: the wise man alone knows how to use riches aright; the foolish abuse them.—**sit**: consecutive subj. with *quin* after *quid* . . . *dubii*; H. 496, 3; B. & M. 1232.—**cum . . . sit . . . habeat**: causal subj. What is subject of *sit*?—**campum . . . patentem**, i. e. an unobstructed field of action.—**staturae**: descriptive gen., limits subject of *fuert*.

2. hoc, sc. *malit*; Lips. reads *haec*.—**Quaedam**: such, accord-

ing to the maxims of Zeno, were riches, health, physical strength, etc.—**in summam rei**, *in respect to the chief matter*.—**adiiciunt** = *adjiciunt*.—**ex virtute nascentem**: the offspring of virtue were joy and serenity of mind, as the Stoics held.—**ferens ventus**: cf. Virg. *Aen.* iv. 430, *expectet facilemque fugam, ventosque ferentes*.—**bruma**: properly, the winter solstice, used for the period near the solstice, almost always stormy.—**apricus**, *exposed to the sun*.

3. alia aliis: good, bad, and indifferent comprised the Stoic category. Virtue only was good, vice only bad; all other things were *indifferentia*—utility alone determined their relative valuation. Of these, some were *producta*, preferable things; others, *abducta*. The *producta* were of three kinds—those of the *mind*, of the *body*, and *externa*. Of the mind were *ingenium*, *ars*, *scientia*; of the body were *sanitas*, *vires*; *externa* were *opes*, *gloria*, *nobilitas*. Of these some are preferable to others—as those of the mind to those of the body; those of the body to those external; Lips.—**4. cum . . . habeant**: cf. § 1, *habeat*.—**quem**, *as*; object of *habeant* understood.—**divitiae**, etc.: riches belong to me, you belong to riches; in other words, riches are my slaves, you are a slave to your riches.

XXIII.—1. pecunia: ablat. of separation; *interdicere* is sometimes used with dat. of person and ablat. of thing; A. & S. 251, R. 2.—**paupertate**: ablat. of punishment. Verbs of condemning, instead of gen. of the crime, sometimes take ablat. of the punishment; H. 410, III. 5; B. & M. 795, obs. 3.—**Habebit philosophus**, etc.: a plea in his own defence.—**nec alieno . . . partas**, i. e. not acquired as the spoil or confiscated property of a proscribed and slain enemy.—**sine sordidis quaestibus**, i. e. gained without despicable means.—**In quantum vis**, *as much as you please*.—**cum . . . sint**: concessive subj., *although*, etc.—**2. per honesta**, *by honest means, honestly*.—**Quod . . . tollat**, *let each one take what he has recognized as his own*.—**O magnum**: M. 536.—**optime**: adv.—**iniciat** = *iniciat*.

3. denarium: a silver coin = about 18 cents.—**loco**: besides the dat., *invidere* frequently has the ablat. with or without *in*; as, *invidere igne rogi miseris*; Lucan's *Pharsalia*, vii. 798.—**hospitentur**: post-Aug., *let them enjoy his hospitality*.—**infruniti**, *silly*,

or *senseless*.—**utrumne**, *whether*; never used in single questions.—**4. escendere**: cf. *De Prov.* 1, 6, N.; *De Tranq.* 15, 17.—**habebit**, i. e. he will esteem riches, yet as fleeting and transitory.—**quid expeditis sinum?** for the purpose of receiving a gift, forsooth.—**rationem esse reddendam**, *that an account must be rendered for stewardship*.—**nam inter turpes iacturas**, etc., i. e. a gift unworthily bestowed is thrown away.—**exeant**, i. e. *consilio*.—**excidat**, i. e. *casu aut levitate*.

XXIV.—1. Hunc promereor, *I win the favor of this one* by my gifts; usually construed with *de* and ablat.—**illum instruo**, i. e. I furnish him with ampler and more liberal means.—**deducat**, etc.: one who deserves not to be taken away from higher pursuits, by the necessity of daily labor, on account of poverty; Lips. reads *diducat*, subj. of result after *dignus*; H. 501, III.; B. & M. 1226.—**inculcabo**, i. e. upon the modest and unexacting.—**nomina facio**: *nomen facere* means, *to write items of debts in an account-book*; hence, here, *I never put money at interest so well as when*, etc.

2. recepturus: expresses purpose, *to receive again*.—**perditurus**: to squander as prodigals, really the antithesis of the thought in the preceding question.—**Eo loco** = *tali loco*, a praiseworthy sentiment.—**domus**: the household and slaves.—**togatos**: Roman citizens, as opposed to foreigners, or Roman soldiers.—**liberi . . . libertini**: cf. Ramshorn's Latin Synonyms.—**ingenui**, *free-born*.—**iustae libertatis**: complete and legal liberty. This was obtained by slaves through the process of manumission in one of three ways, viz. *vindicta*, *censu*, *testamento*. On this subject, cf. Dict. Antiq.—**inter amicos datae**, sc. *libertatis*. This was not really a legal manumission, but might be revoked by the master. Cf. Dict. Antiq.

3. quae = *et ea*.—**libero animo**: a mind that acts voluntarily and is not constrained.—**apud sapientem** = *a sapiente*.—**Non est ergo, quod**: cf. 2, 1, N.; for the subj. *exaudiat*, cf. *De Tranq.* 1, 2, N.—**4. Aliud . . . aliud**, *one thing . . . and another*.—**Ille**: refers to which, the nearer or more remote subject? cf. Lat. Prose Comp. 377.—**inter mala volutor plurima**: in other words, I am involved in the weaknesses and imperfections of human nature.—**ad formulam meam**: according to a rule or law which I have

laid down for myself to follow.—**Adsecutus vero**, etc., *but he who has attained the height of human wisdom* (i. e. virtue).—**Primum . . . sententiam**, *first, you are not to pass judgment on your betters*.

5. promittam . . . aestimem: indirect questions; M. 356.—**si essent, bonos facerent**: for the Stoics held that it was a characteristic of good *always* to confer good; hence, that which could be used both for good and evil purposes was not good—a not very cogent conclusion.—**adferentis** = *adferentes*.

XXV.—1. quid praestem, etc., *what I value in them differently from you*; an indirect question; M. 356.—**aliud quam**: *aliud* in the older writers stands with *quam* in negative propositions, or in interrogatives with a negative sense. In writers later than Livy this distinction is not observed; M. 444, obs. 1.—**suspiciam**, *honor or respect*.—**In sublicium pontem**: where mendicants were accustomed to gather, because of the numbers who passed by; cf. Juv. *Sat.* iv. 115; xiv. 132; Martial, *Epigram.* x. 5.—**quid enim ad rem**, sc. *est.*, *for what is it to the case whether*, etc. Again we have the Stoic doctrine of suicide, his only resource under certain trials and calamities. Cf. *De Prov.* 6, 6, N.—**deest**: what is its subject? B. & M. 1147; H. 549.

2. instrumentis splendentibus: such as golden and purple couches, richly carved tables, etc.; cf. *De Tranq.* 1, 3, N.; v. l. *stramentis*.—**molle . . . amiculum**: a luxurious purple cloak made of the finest wool. It was worn at supper and at banquets.—**purpura**: purple couches and carpets; cf. Cicero, *in M. Anton. (Philippica)*, ii. 27, 67; Virg. *Aen.* i. 700.—**cervix** = *caput*.—**Circense tomentum**: a cushion made of cheap wool and stuffed with feathers, or more frequently with chaff and broken straw; called *Circense*, says Lips., because they were to be purchased at the Circus, or because the poor were accustomed to lie upon them at that place; cf. Martial, *Epig.* xiv. 159.—**praetextatus**, i. e. clad in the robes of office. Lips. prefers the reading, *peratus*.—**chlamydatus**. The manuscripts vary much here. Haase reads *gausapatus*; other readings are, *candidatus*, *causatus*, *camisatus*, *canusinatus*.—**3. cedant . . . subtexantur**: concessive subjs., the particle *licet* being omitted.—**non ob**, etc., sc. *tamen*.—**hinc illic**, *from every quarter*.—**ater** = *infelix, infaustus*.

4. ille, i. e. *celeberrimus*.—**delicatus** . . . **currus**: the triumphal chariot of *Liber* or Bacchus, enriched with gold and gems, and wreathed with ivy and the grape.—**ad Thebas**: Thebes, said to be the birthplace of Bacchus, and to which he returned in triumph from India, which country he had subjugated.—**Penatium**: Fickert suggests whether *iura Penatium* may not signify *ius vitae* or *veniam vivendi*, and quotes Macrobius, *Saturn. Conviv.* iii. 4, in illustration. Lips. approves the reading *Persarum*, because the Persians were the most powerful nation in the Orient.—**fericulum** = *ferculum*: in order that they might be more readily seen, the most illustrious captives were borne on the *ferculum* on occasion of a conqueror's triumph.—**non humilior**, etc., i. e. I will bear the same mind as I would were I the triumphing general.

5. veniant: *malo* sometimes is followed by the subj. with or without *ut*, instead of the accus. with the infin.; Z. 624.—**stimulis**: as, for instance, in adversity.—**frenis**: as in prosperity.—**6. per devexum**, down a declivity, i. e. without difficulty.—**Acerimas**, sc. *virtutes*.—**quae suspensum gradum**, i. e. which advance with leisure step.

XXVI.—1. Cum hoc ita divisum sit, since this distinction has been made, viz., in respect to the virtues above mentioned.—**vos aliter auditis**, sc. *quam loquor*.—**habere volumus?** sc. *divitias*.—**Divitiae enim**, etc.: cf. 22, 1, 4, N.—**2. indictum est**: an allusion to the customary and formal declaration of war by the *fetiales*; vid. Livy, i. 32, 5, etc.—**tamquam . . . possit . . . transcenderint . . . sint**: *tamquam* is a particle of comparison, introducing a condition of which the conclusion is omitted or implied, and is usually followed by the present or perf. subj.; H. 503; A. & G. 312.

3. quo illa pertineant, what end these (engines) would serve; cf. Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* ii. 30; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 45.—**Sapienti . . . relinquet**: cf. words of Bias of Priene (about B.C. 550), who, although he had lost house, wealth, and everything, exclaimed, "I carry all my property with me;" cf. *De Prov.* 3, 3, N.—**4. ille**: cf. 25, 4, N.—**actum vitae**, course of life.—**vitiorum**: governed in gen. by *inmunis*.

5. Existimatio . . . vestra, your good name.—**bonae spei eiura-**

tio: the thought is that men who assail virtue are to be despaired of; there is no hope of moral recovery for them, since they forswear virtue.—**sed ne dis . . . evertunt**: cf. *De Constant. Sap.* 4, 2, "Even as celestial things are not subject to human hands, and they that overturn temples and melt images can in no way hurt god, so whatever is maliciously attempted against a wise man is attempted in vain;" cf. also, *De Benef.* vii. 7, 3.

6. alas inposuit: an allusion to Jupiter's visit, in the form of a swan, to Leda, by whom he became father to Castor, Pollux, and Helen.—**alius cornua**: he assumed the form of a bull, when he ravished Europa.—**saevum in deos**: Jupiter dethroned Saturn, hurled Vulcan headlong to the earth, suspended Juno out of heaven by her feet, etc.—**raptorum**, etc.: probably an allusion to the seizure and abduction of Ganymede, whom Jupiter made his cup-bearer; cf. *Class. Dict. for ancient mythology*.—**quibus . . . actum est**, etc., *by which nothing else was aimed at*, etc. In this we have Seneca's estimate of the noxious tendency of pagan mythology. We can judge, also, how little faith cultivated men of his day put in the popular system of pagan religion then prevailing.—**hominibus**: ablat. of separation.

7. favete linguis, i. e. *keep silence*. When the sacred name of virtue has been mentioned, maintain silence if you can say nothing in her praise, or in praise of those in pursuit of her. At the celebration of ancient religious rites silence was enjoined, in order that there might not be any disturbing influence.—**Hoc verbum . . . obstrepente**: these words are regarded by some as an interpolation, but they are found in all the books, and have reference to the beginning of the next chapter.

XXVII.—1. oraculo, i. e. of virtue or a virtuous man.—**sistrum**: a bronze rattle, according to Apuleius, used by the ancient Egyptians in their religious ceremonies, especially in the worship of Isis. (Cf. *Dict. Antiq.*) The Romans became familiar with its use by the introduction of Isis-worship into Italy, shortly before the Christian era. The *sistrum* is still used in Nubia and Abyssinia.—**secandi . . . artifex**, i. e. a priest of Bellona or Cybele.—**suspensa manu**, *with sparing hand*.—**laurum**: a symbol of inspiration, worn by the priests of Apollo, used here in connection

with *ululat*, to denote a claim to prophetic powers.—*lin-teatus*: after the manner of the Egyptian priests.—*divinum*, *divinely inspired*.

2. *transite*, i. e. in silence; cf. *favete linguis*, 26, 7, N.—**Aristophani**: the famous comic poet, contemporary with Socrates, etc.; cf. Class. Dict.—**materiam iocorum**, i. e. in his comedy called “The Clouds,” in which Socrates is sharply satirized as the head of the tribe of sophists, and the corrupter of the moral principles of the youth.—**manus**, *band* or *company*, referring to other comic poets of the day, as Eupolis, Cratinus, etc.

3. **produci**, etc., *to be dragged forth and put to the test*, as gladiators and athletes.—**illi**, i. e. virtue.—**in vadoso mari**, *placed in the midst of a restless sea*; v. l. *undoso*; Lips.—4. **malo suo**: dat., *to its own harm*.—**Papulas observatis**, etc. The philosopher is represented as turning upon his accusers. Cf. St. Matt. vii. 3-5; St. Luke vi. 41, 42.

5. **Obicite** = *objicite*.—**petierit pecuniam**: when he voyaged to Sicily to meet Dionysius and Dion.—**quod acceperit**, sc. *pecuniam*; from Alexander, who was his pupil, and who, on one occasion, presented him with 800 talents.—**Democrito**: cf. *De Prov.* 6, 1, N.—**quod consumpserit**: it was charged that Epicurus expended one *mina* per day for articles of food.—**mihi ipsi**, i. e. Socrates, in whose mouth is put this address to the detractors of the wise man. Some would refer this and the following to Seneca, on account of chronological difficulties in making Socrates speak of Aristotle and Epicurus, who were not born till after Socrates’s death; but there is so little propriety in considering the words as coming from Seneca that it seems better to regard them here as a sort of poetic license or anticipation.—**Alcibiadem**: a man of fine abilities, but utterly lacking in moral principle, although he had been a pupil and admirer of Socrates. Alcibiades is the young man who is represented by Aristophanes, in “The Clouds,” as corrupted by the sophistries of Socrates. Cf. § 2, N.—**Phaedrum**: a friend of Plato’s, and also one of Socrates’s pupils. Very little is known of him. Plato gives the name *Phaedrus* to one of his Dialogues.

6. **O vos usu maxime**, etc., i. e. happy would you be if in your daily experience you would endeavor to follow the lives of wise

men, since in that event you would acquire the name of seekers, even if you could not become the possessors of wisdom; Michaelis.—**vos**: accus. of exclamation.—**eo loco** = *tali loco*, i. e. all men are not in such condition as you.

XXVIII.—**vos**, etc. Socrates continues to speak.—**fortunæ**: dat. governed by *alienum*.—**quibus**: dat. of interest.—**immineant . . . accesserint**: indirect questions.—**Quid porro?** sc. *dicam*.—**etiam si parum sentitis**, *even if you scarcely discern it*.—* * * * * The close of this treatise is lost. Some critics are in favor of joining the imperfect treatise, *De Otio aut Secessu Sapientis*, to the present, but with no good or sufficient reason, since its contents and treatment are quite diverse from the *De Vita Beata*.

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